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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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## THE CATHEDRAL-BUILDERS OF MEDIAEVAL EUROPE.<sup>1</sup>

If we observe ourselves and the multitudinous life about us, we shall all agree that most of what is typical, characteristic of our own generation, perishes with us. Man is largely a thing of the present. Most of his time is spent in fighting off decay and death, that, nevertheless, press on him with the slow and certain speed of the Alpine glacier. Of the popular daily life of the middle of the last century, only reminiscences remain; and when those are gone, whose hearts and minds still retain vivid impressions of the past, the tide of oblivion makes swifter haste, and soon obliterates all but the most striking landmarks, those great events and institutions that are the common property of a race or a nation. Even literature, though it is usually said to hold the most sacred experiences of every people, is only a fragment of fragments, retains but a tithe of the passions, the hopes, the struggles, the triumphs and glories, that made up the sum of life as it was actually lived by men and women. As far as the past is concerned, we walk amid shadows and reflections, in an ever deepening twilight.

This thought is of some importance when we look back over the thousand years of the Middle Ages for some great convincing illustration of the spirit and scope of Catholicism, something that shall be as strictly its own work as the Homeric

<sup>1</sup> Discourse delivered at San Francisco, September 20, 1901, under the auspices of the Catholic Truth Society of that city.

chants or the marbles of the Parthenon are the work of the Greek soul, the great roads of Europe and the Code of Justinian the product of the genius of Rome. Catholic Christianity in that thousand years of the Middle Ages dominated fully and freely the life of European mankind. What legacy has it left the human race, at once monumental and unique, useful and holy, worthy of its own claims, and comparable with those remains by which we judge other religions that lay, or once did lay, claim to universal acceptance? Say what we will, make what appeal we will to the social benefits of a religion, its written documents of a literary character or value, its political uses, its successful molding over of the common heart, its answers to the eternal questions of the soul, the common conscience, its upbuilding of the spiritual man, individually and collectively—develop all these admirable arguments as we will, there remains the deep and just query: What *monuments* has it left behind?

The hand of man is very cunning, and tends very naturally to fashion in some public and permanent manner the ideals that the brain has conceived and the heart cherished. The most refined Greek ethnicism had its Acropolis at Athens, its Temple of Diana at Ephesus. Roman ethnicism had its Temple of Fortune at Praeneste, its Coliseum at Rome. Those philosophies of life that are as religions to the followers of Confucius and Buddha, have each flowered in a peculiar art that may seem fantastic to us, but has yet an intimate relationship with the doctrines that it glorifies and perpetuates. General doctrines, that have got themselves lived out, large and constant views of the meaning, uses and end of human life, usually blossom out in great monuments, almost as naturally as the thought of the brain leaps to the tongue and clamors for expression.

# I.

It was as a *religion* that Catholicism dominated the Middle Ages. The natural monuments of a religion are its temples. You may simplify a religion as you will, curtail its functions, reduce its influence—but so long as it pretends to bind man with his Maker, so long will it need places of meeting for its people, and so long will it set up therein some symbol or symbols of its creed.

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The refined paganism of Greece and Rome, with which Catholicism came into conflict, had such popular centers of worship—the temples and shrines of its gods. But paganism had nothing truly spiritual about it. It was all based on fear of its deities, was a religion solely of low and coarse propitiation, a mass of deceptive practices, a double religion—base superstition for the multitude, quasi-agnosticism for the elevated classes. It had no fixed doctrine to preach. It had no central fire of love to which all were bidden, no mystic banquet, no divine revelation to communicate. Hence, its temples were only abodes of the mysterious deity. He alone dwelt behind marble walls, within which, as a rule, only the priest went and the needed servants. Outside, on the temple-square, stood the multitudes, watching the evisceration of sheep and oxen, or the other mummeries of paganism, but utterly without any serious share in the act of religion that was entirely the affair of the priests and the magistrates, a state act.

With the Christians, from the very beginning, it was otherwise. They were one body with Jesus Christ, the mystic head. They had been all born again in Him, and the true death was to lose that new higher life. They were destined to union with Him in eternity. They had His history in four little books, and the letters of His first agents, the Apostles. He had fixed a certain form for their meetings, that were to be very frequent, and at which all who confessed His Name should assist and partake of a divine banquet that was none other than His own Body and Blood.

So the Christians needed a large, free space, where all could see one another, where all could hear, where access was easy to the eucharistic table or altar, around which the ministers of the banquet could serve the presiding officer and distribute to all the assistants, in an orderly way, the celestial food. The God of the Christians was no longer far away. He was with them day and night. He spoke to them all with equal love, and demanded from all an equal service. In other words, the doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament, of the Real Presence, demanded at once and created all the essentials of a Christian church, such as they are found in the catacombs and such as they will exist as long as the religion itself—a table for the sacrifice, a

space for its ministers, an open space sufficient for the assistants, light for the performance of the mysteries in which all were sharers and, in a true but mysterious sense, actors, light also for the reading of the gospels, the Old Testament, the letters from distant brethren, the accounts of martyrdom. In time, the pagan had to be kept out, the novice admitted slowly, the unfaithful excluded and chastised for a time, the goods, deposits, plate, records, of the little communities stored away. Thus vestibules, courts and sacristies were added. Thus, too, arose, almost in the Cenacle, the first Christian Church, all whose essential elements are curiously enough foreshadowed in the Apocalypse—indeed, in the Holy Temple of Jerusalem itself.

It is a long and charming chapter in the history of the fine arts how the typical Catholic church grew up. There was the upper room in the residence of the principal Christian of the community; perhaps, too, they hired occasionally a public hall or reading room. Then came the little chamber of some cemetery where an illustrious martyr lay. When freedom came, there was the little overground chapel, with its triple apse and its roofless but enclosed courtyard, just over the martyr's resting-place; then the vast Roman halls of justice were abandoned to them. Sometimes the temples were transformed for Christian service. Soon they built their own—at Rome St. Peter's and St. Paul's, the "Great Church" at Carthage, the "New Church" at Antioch, at Tyre. Emperors paid for them, and crossed the world to assist at their dedication. They were often of the style of the Roman Courts of Justice known as basilicas; again they were octagonal or round. Every city, every village, had its own. But whatever their form of material, they were places of meeting for a community of men and women, therefore roomy and lightsome. By reason of the great central act of the religion, they were decently ornamented, provided with an elevated altar, beneath which lay the body of some distinguished martyr or confessor of Christ, whose death was the pledge of final victory over a bad and unjust society, a seal of hope, an assurance that with faith in Jesus Christ lay the only certainty of eternal life.

The first great Christian churches were owing to the con-

structive skill of Roman architects and builders. They embodied the best traditions of imperial architecture, such at least as had survived into the fourth century. That they were not in absolute decay may be seen from the splendid ruins of the Palace of Diocletian at Salona. But, given the collapse of Roman power, the great building arts could not long survive. Their traditions were easily lost for want of exercise. In the Christian Orient perhaps they lived on much longer, in Greek Constantinople, and the remnants of the Roman power that Islam did not absorb. But in the West, a mysterious transformation took place. We quit the sixth century holding on to traditions of classical forms and workmanship at Rome and Ravenna, but we emerge into the seventh, in possession no longer of what is known as Roman architecture, but of what the historians of art are agreed to call Romanesque. For five hundred years nearly all the churches of Europe are ranged in this category. We have no longer in their purity the solemn, long nave of the basilica, with its noble monolith pillars, tied by correct round arches, on which rests the main roof, while the altar is in the apse, that is solidly built up and holds on its own semi-circle of brick its suitable roof. If side-naves are needed, they are added from without, with their own columns, low roofs and enclosing walls. In place of such majestic buildings that retained no little of the majesty of Imperial Rome, and of which a specimen may yet be seen at Trier on the Moselle, or even in some Roman Churches, we get smaller edifices. For the great monolith column there are low pillars, often made of separate stone drums. The arches are lower, more squatty, and depend on very thick walls for their support. The open upper roof of the old basilica gives way to a few narrow windows, mere apertures, but decorated with pretty colonnettes. An inside gallery, low and narrow, runs around the church just over the pillars. A low roof made of wooden beams gives an air of dimness and depression to the whole edifice.

Where did the Christian architects of northern Italy, in whose cities it surely arose, get the essentials of this style? Did a school of genuine Roman architects and builders survive the downfall of their state and culture? Did they live on Lake Como, and perpetuate there the skill and cunning in building

of their Roman ancestors? Are they the real builders of the first Lombard churches, the originators of Romanesque, that afterwards was carried by them into France, and Germany, and England, in which lands one beauty, one utility after another, was added, until such glorious old churches as Worms, Speyer and others of the Rhineland, were created, until St. Ambrose at Milan, St. Michael's at Pavia, and many others, were either rebuilt anew or made over after the prevailing style? Or is the Romanesque church the result of inherited barbarian tastes and traditions struggling for expression at the hands of men yet raw in the history and forms of architecture? Is it the Greek architect of Constantinople, an exile or a left-over from the ruinous exarchate at Ravenna, who himself executed, or gave the first impulse to those curious buildings in which, all over Europe, the traditions of Old Rome are seen to underlie a number of new principles and suggestions? Anyhow, Christian architecture from Roman became European by way of the Romanesque. Specimens of the latter soon arose in every land. The Roman architects and builders who followed Saint Augustine to England, St. Boniface to Germany, built in that style. Those who crossed the Alps at the bidding of Charlemagne, and created the octagonal basilica of Aix-la-Chapelle for him, showed that they were masters of both Byzantine and Romanesque, for they left after them work of both kinds.

Somehow, even though imperfectly, the building-arts were yet taught in Italy, architecture was yet understood in the large style of the ancients. The great models of antiquity still existed—for their final complete destruction dates from the late Middle Ages, not from the time we are dealing with. There was always kept up some interchange of influences between Constantinople and the West, at least until the Iconoclastic follies and excesses of the eighth century arrested the normal development of Christian art in its natural home. From the City of Rome in the West, and the City of Constantinople in the East, were kept up a constant supply and demand of all that pertained to building and the arts that depend on it.

It is now an exploded fable that there was in the year A.D. 1,000 a General Terror among the Christian peoples of Europe

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at the supposed approach of the end of the world. Nevertheless, the two hundred years that followed did see a general revival of human interests, owing to other reasons. With the civilizing of the Northmen, the last stages of the old classical world of Greece and Rome disappeared. Latin ceased finally to be a spoken tongue. The new vernaculars made out of it began to move independently, to affect a higher range of activity. With these new instruments of thought the life of the peoples of Europe takes on a new character. The last border land of the old and the new is reached. Right here Catholicism entered more profoundly than ever into the lives of these new and ardent peoples. Their wills and testaments show it. The population increased rapidly, new churches were built in great numbers, and old ones were restored or enlarged. Constant demand created a great supply of workmen. The intelligence of Italian and Greek architects, and the devotion and sacrifices of a great multitude of monks, brought about improvements in the ordinary Romanesque. Little by little it graduated into the incomparable Gothic. The round arch gave way to the pointed arch, that could be carried much higher, and needed for its support no thick and cumbersome walls, only a sufficient lateral resistance or pressure to prevent it from falling. Now the heavy stone piers could be reduced in size, the massive walls could be thinned down and cut out, until a new theory stood forth in practice—the building was no longer a roof resting on heavy walls propped up by thick piers that were themselves bound and dovetailed into the walls. It was now a great, open, airy framework, in which the tall main arches were caught precisely at their weakest point by slender but strong abutting piers. The roof rested partly on these arches thus secured, partly on slight but strong shafts engaged in the masonry of the great arches at their springing point. Across the nave independent arches were thrown, always pointed, that showed beneath each vault, upheld it, and produced the new and artistic effect of groining. The light spaces of the clerestory were now raised and widened; the spaces between the great lateral arches were also broadened, until at last almost no solid wall at all was left, nothing but the masonry built up beneath the huge glass windows to support their

weight, and enclose the worshippers. Here was at last something absolutely new in architecture. Some modern scholars maintain that its first suggestions came from Constantinople, or from Christian Antioch. Be that as it may, it was the genius of mediæval Catholicism in the West that caught up the idea long dormant. In Normandy and the territory of Paris and Orleans, the new architecture first spread. It is not German, it is not Italian or English. It is French in its original and purest monuments. When you look at the cathedrals of Chartres and Amiens, you see its loveliest chefs d'œuvre; when you go through the ancient towns of Normandy, you see its first examples. Here in the north of France, during the first fifty years of its development, arose many specimens of the genuine Gothic, until all Europe caught the sacred fire. The new style spread from one land to another, was modified somewhat in each, reached its apogee in the early part of the fourteenth century, and then fell into a decline and disuse that it has recovered from only in the last century through the efforts of a Pugin in England and that Romantic movement in Germany which is identified with the completion of the cathedral of Cologne and the names of Joseph Görres, its philosopher, and August Reichensperger, its preceptor.

## II.

The mediæval cathedral, house of prayer, museum, gallery of art works, in whatever way we look at, it was the great popular enterprise of that period. It arose gradually, through several generations, and is the true mirror of the ideals and endeavors of our mediæval ancestors. It furnished employment for the major part of the city's craftsmen. It stirred up rivalry and ingenuity, and brought together on one site a multitude of workers whose combined experience alone could raise such buildings. Industry and commerce flourished around it, good taste was exercised and developed by it—the great triumphs of painting and sculpture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are only the flowering of the good seed planted in the twelfth and thirteenth. The life of every family in the city was intimately bound up with the great monument that they had helped to build. Its windows held the portraits of their ancestors. Their arms were blazoned on many a glorious rose or chancel-



light, while before the altar lay buried their parents and relatives. When Adam Krafft raised his ineffably beautiful slender tabernacle for the Blessed Sacrament at Nürnberg, that reaches from floor to ceiling of the great church, he built it on the backs of bronze figures of himself and his assistants, each with his master's apron and tools. From his workshop to the altar of God there was but a step in his life-time. And he wished it to be so forever.

It is the cathedral that kept alive good handiwork, for all the domestic architecture, all civic and military architecture, of the period is based on the religious, and only follows it, imitates it. The castle, the fortress, the city palace, the town hall, the gates, the bridges, the guild-houses all the civic buildings, copy their ornaments and decoration from the workshops of the cathedral, when, indeed, they were not built by the same architects and workmen. There they found the infinite variety of decoration, the models of bronze and iron-work, the perfect forms of pointed window and stone mullion, the proportion of stories and cornice, the proper precautions for the roof and the eaves, the charming system of fresco-coloring and painted tile-work that lent to every old mediæval town, like Bruges or Freiburg, its haunting spiritualesque beauty, its distinctive *cachet* of personality.

This helps to explain another peculiarity of the great Gothic cathedrals. They had no architects in our modern sense of the word. There was, indeed, a great head whose general plans were known and followed out. But it was a time of *master workmen*. Every one fit to do any responsible work on the building was a finished artist in his own line. Moreover, he had usually a heart and an imagination, those true sources of spontaneity and inventiveness. He had a personal fondness for his work, and a great pride in being a responsible agent in the common undertaking. The individual workmen had much freedom in the execution of their details, a circumstance that aided notably in impressing an air of distinction, a stamp of personal inventive finish on every line and member of the work. Around such buildings as Strasburg and Paris, that were slowly carried to completion, arose *practical schools* of superior masonry, joiner and cabinet work, framing and mortising, carving in

wood and stone. Originally all the workmen formed one great corporation, but in time the painters and the sculptors became conscious of their own importance, and established independent guilds or crafts. So with the others. But their real apprenticeship had been on the huge pile that overtopped everything in the city, and their best master-pieces were long to be seen only there. Sometimes one family worked for two hundred years or more at one particular line of occupation in the same building. Thus, all the mosaic altars in the great Certosa at Pavia were built from father to son for two hundred years by the Sacchi family. A moment's reflection will show that in such cases we almost touch with the hand the original workmen of the thirteenth century. Elsewhere, in northern Italy, one family built during three hundred years nearly all the fine churches of a whole extensive neighborhood.

It is not enough that we should know how a great cathedral got itself built up. It is well to know how it was administered and kept together. After all, it was a center of good government, when good government was rare. At its head stood the bishop, elected for life. He was often a sovereign temporal authority, like the Bishop of Durham in England, or the great German elector-bishops of Cologne, Trier and Mainz. In any case his authority was the source of all rights, and his will the normal spring of administration. For many centuries all his clerics lived with him, ate at the same table, and slept under the same roof. The temporal goods of the see were under the supervision of an officer known as the archdeacon who also looked after the clergy. A cathedral school, where boys were brought up as in a seminary, where the young choristers were trained, was attached to the building. Other buildings were close by, apartments for the clergy of the cathedral, a house for the guests, the pilgrims, the poor penitent traveling to Rome or to Saint James in Spain. In England, a noble circular hall, whose roof was upheld by a single pillar, was affected to the meetings of the clergy and to the synods. Numerous officials were on the personnel of the cathedral—a master of the choir or precentor, a very important office, a chancellor or legal adviser and officer of the diocese, a treasurer, a dean or head of the chapter with its numerous priests or canons bound to sing the

psalms at fixed times during the day, and to carry on the services of the cathedral according to the laws of the church. A great number of laymen were usually attached to such a building—caretakers, janitors, laborers, bailiffs, messengers—sometimes the family of the bishop ran up to many hundred heads. A great wall was often drawn about the whole establishment, and the gates closed and patrolled at night as in a little fortress. With daybreak began the round of divine service that almost never ceased, the space between the High Mass and the Evensong or Vespers being filled up with many minor and local ceremonies of great interest—in England, *e. g.*, the distribution of the Holy Loaf, the chanting of the lovely Bidding Prayer, or public petitions for divine mercy, the calling over from the pulpit of the Bede-Roll or names of dead benefactors, the chanting of litanies, the conduct of processions, and a hundred and one forms of religious life that kept the entire clerical force on their feet the livelong day. Besides the varied religious life of the cathedral itself, there was the wonderful social life without—the weekly market, the peddlers and tradesmen, the alehouse that often belonged to the church, the great breweries for a people who seldom drank water, like the English and the Germans, the children at their games, the smithies wide open and resounding, the granaries and stores of the bishop. Between that cathedral and the next great church, there were only hamlets, some monasteries, small ones maybe, and an occasional nobleman's castle perched inaccessible on some high crag. As a matter of fact, here were the original elements of mediæval civil life, here the germs out of which grew first most mediæval cities and small states of Europe, and then our own civilization. When a man of learning and distinction, of high birth and great piety, like a Grosseteste of Lincoln, or a Maurice de Sully of Paris, or an Engelbert of Cologne, presided over such a work, one can imagine how close to ideal contentment the life of his people could come.

### III.

The decorations and furniture of the cathedral corresponded to the beauty of the structure. The altar arose on marble or bronze columns, sometimes resting on couchant lions or on human figures. Reliefs in marble or bronze decorated it.

The costliest embroideries and laces were made for it; stuffs of gold brocade, and ornamented with precious stones, were hung upon it, worth a king's ransom. Embroidered frames, richly painted panels, were often used to embellish it on high festivals. Often a great baldacchino, or open roof, held up by columns of costly material covered it. In Germany and elsewhere the altar worked gradually back from the front line to the wall of the apse, whither the relics were taken. In time they were put upon the altar itself, and thus arose the elegant reredos. It is all visible in the painted folding-doors that may yet be seen—lovely work by the schools of Cologne or of Bruges, of Hans Memling, or Albert Dürer. The chalices of silver and gold were gems of artistic skill, covered with precious stones, engraved in niello, heavy with pearls and mosaic, decorated in arabesque or filigree. Though the smallest of them was of inestimable value, yet the richest was looked on as all too unfit for the holy service it rendered. From being round and large they became tall and slender, according as they were more immediately for the personal use of the celebrant. The ciborium for the communion of the people, the pyx for the communion of the sick, the monstrance for the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, were each a new object for the artist's taste and the generosity of the donor. For all of them the pointed arch of the Gothic fixed the shape and the details. The Mass and service books were of enormous size, made of the finest parchment, illuminated by the deftest hands, bound and ornamented with lavish fondness and a skill never since surpassed. Every vessel that was in any way connected with the eucharistic service became at once an art-object—the censer, the cruets, the basin and even the candlesticks and candelabra, the mass bells, the portable crosses, the reliquaries. Even when done in iron or brass, like the massive lecterns, these objects affected the most exquisite forms, and were the starting point of the loveliest work that later generations expended on domestic interiors, or on buildings devoted to civic purposes. The baptismal fonts, round or octagonal, offered the sculptor an interesting field for his inventive genius, and even the well, always found in the cathedral cloister or close, was often seized on for purposes of sculptural decoration. The

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empty spaces in the cathedral were gradually filled with splendid family tombs of marble or bronze, on which the symbolism of religion and heraldry disputed the palm with the truth and vividness of portraiture and history. The dead bishop and his canons were in time remembered for their services or their legacies. Thus every cathedral was soon a city of the dead, where the effigies of priest and layman, of abbess and noble dame, looked down from their silent places on the ebb and flow of the human life that they had once graced and enlivened. Never was there a more moving and romantic lesson of the transient nature of life than these great cathedral-spaces in their first days when the dead builders stared on the living, and the living felt that day by day they were only drawing closer to the beloved dead. Over them all there is even yet something of a sacrosanct Christian fondness—the knight cherishes yet his falcon or his hound; at the feet of the sweet châtelaine is yet carved the little spaniel, the companion of her leisure and the witness of her womanly virtues.

The railings of the choir, and the screens to separate it from the people; the screens for the altar itself; the pulpit, the tabernacle, the reading desks for the daily office; the organ fronts, the stalls for the canons, the marble pavement, the entire furniture of the cathedral, were turned over to the artists as an inexhaustible province for their skill and genius.

Two great arts formed a congenial home in the Gothic cathedral—the art of painting and the art of sculpture. The mediæval man was color-mad. We see the relics of his great monuments in a faded or colorless garb. When they issued from the hands of the architects and artists they were far different. The roof of the cathedral was finished in colored tiles—red, blue, green—often in tasty designs. The walls within were tinted in fresh and pleasing colors, the carvings of the capitals brought out in red and blue and bold; in the vaults the groined ribs of stone were similarly treated, the doorways were painted and gilded; the pavements often done in mosaic, or in geometric patterns of colored marbles; the ceilings a deep blue, often dotted with little golden stars. Compositions of great size often adorned the vacant spaces—here the Madonna and Child, there Saint Christopher bearing the



Christ-Child, here the Dance of Death with its stern comment on the vanity of human life, elsewhere the prophets and apostles, or martyrs and holy virgins and confessors, met the eye. Sometimes the interior is cold and severe, as at Marburg, and again a great blaze of blue and gold and red as at Assisi. It was the experience thus gained that prepared the way for the lovely Madonnas of the artists of Cologne and Bruges in the fifteenth century, the work of a Master Schöngauer and a Hans Memling, without which a Dürer and a Raphael would be unintelligible.

Nevertheless, the real immortal painting of the Gothic cathedral is not the fresco, no matter how perfect. It is always somewhat out of place and distracts the attention from the sublime simplicity of the architectural lines, from the religious severity of the tall open arches and the sombre masses of stone. Its true and natural painting is the great glass window. Indeed, when finished, a genuine Gothic monument is like a vast transparent house of glass. Originally the aim of the artist in colored glass was to give the impression of a great piece of tapestry covering the open space and toning down the garish light of day. Such tapestries had been much used in the earlier Romanesque churches, and were one great source for artistic education in the numerous nunneries. The bits of glass were put together like a mosaic, each a separate bit, and leaded to one another. All drawing was in outline. It was a handsome shining tapestry that the artists desired to produce, and such is always the effect of the best glass as at Chartres and Cologne. Later, as the windows became only frames for the imitation of painting in oil, the original artistic reason of the great glass windows was forgotten. The accessory had become the principal.

#### IV.

Although in the treatment of artistic glass, as in other details, there was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a rapid decline of intelligence and pure taste, one great effect was retained in every church that could at all call itself Gothic—an abundance of light, but toned down, softened, robbed of all its heat and blare and vulgarity. An air of religious mystery was thus created throughout the vast building, in which

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all things were seen indeed, but dimly and with a constant suggestion of the beyond, of a glory and a majesty to which these walls were but the vestibule. The city streets usually led up to the great portals of the cathedral, so much so that in time the lofty transept became almost a highway for the ordinary foot-traffic of the community. The mighty collective work of the population was ever in their very heart, a thing of beauty and joy, all fresh and sharp in its carved surfaces, all grace and slender elegance in the upward sweep of its arches, its roof, its towers and spires, all solidity in its immovable piers and locked buttresses, all variety in the flashing colors of the tiled roofs and spires, the native hues of the local freestone or granite, the broken lines of the external framework, all utility in the thousand uses of daily life for which little by little every member of the splendid pile had been excogitated, all harmony in the blending of imperishable material, plastic forms, molding genius—one mighty architectonic idea imprisoned, but barely imprisoned, throbbing night and day with a celestial music akin to that which the starry spheres are said to emit in their courses. Its glorious chimes flung out the praises of God from a perfect metal, the like of which has never been reproduced in later centuries. But the showering melodies that they loosened in the upper air were as silence compared with the voice of the vast mass itself. It was one great psalm of praise and prayer—the incarnation, as it were, of the divine psalmody that went ceaselessly on beneath its fretted and painted vaults. Not without reason has such a building been called a poem in stone. No ordinary poem indeed, but a solemn epic, in which all the uses of life are transfigured, smelted into unity, uplifted and set in living contact with the Common Father in Heaven. Chartres and Amiens, Rheims and Rouen, Cologne and Marburg, are as surely the interpreters of Catholicism in the Middle Ages as St. Thomas and Dante—nay, in one sense more so—for such solitary voices appealed largely to the reason, or to the reasoning fancy, whereas the Gothic cathedral soars at once beyond the weak discursive or analytic methods, appeals at once to the common heart of the city, the multitude, to all its common emotions, all its collective experiences. It calls out all the idealism latent in the most sluggish soul. The history of

the Catholic Church seen from the proper view point, is one of her greatest arguments, one of the deepest sources of her theology and her discipline. But its true folios are not the dusty volumes that lie upon the shelves of libraries. They are rather those great religious buildings of the Middle Ages, every one of which was a forum for the broadest discussions that could engage human thought, every one of which is as a leaf in the annals of her civilizing energy. Who can look upon the white head of Shasta and not feel that peace descends upon him and enfolds him with her wings? So no one can suffer the vision of Strasburg or Freiburg, and not experience a great stilling of the heart, a sensation as of a mother resting her soft palm on one's fevered brow and looking into the eyes unutterable thoughts of pity and consolation and relief.

What is the cause of this sentiment so universal that it cannot be gainsaid? It is something similar to the power exercised over the imagination by a battlefield, an Austerlitz or Waterloo, by the ruins of some great city, Carthage or Antioch or Rome. There the most awful experiences of man with man have gradually but inseparably blended with the surroundings. Here the dealings of God with man lend an unspeakable dignity to the scene of such great mysteries. For centuries the Saviour of mankind has dwelt beneath those holy roofs until every detail, every ornament, every element has become in some way familiar with Him. For centuries the sacraments of the Catholic Church have been administered at those altars, and her solemn services have resounded in every corner of those vast edifices. For centuries a public worship, the offering of the whole heart of man—the act of the society as of the family—has developed and grown in manifold novelty and charm. In all this long time those huge spaces have been the meeting places of heaven and earth, and if some of the dust and stain of the material garment of man still cling to them, they are also full to overflowing of angelic presences and divine emanations. If the muddy currents of life have left their irregular line along the foundations there cling to every altar and shrine countless sighs of genuine repentance, of ecstatic fondness for Jesus, of longing to be one with Him. There is everywhere the aroma of human tears, and human sorrows that are beyond



the poor relief of tears. There are the cries of oppressed innocence, of hunted virtue, of outraged justice, of equity foiled and scorned. If each of these noble buildings is a museum, a gallery, immeasurably more instructive than the big lumber-rooms which are dignified with such titles, it is also a battlefield, where the wrestlings of the spirit and the conquests of grace fill out the conflict.

Of our poor little lives, made up of the smiles of joy and the tears of woe, the greater part is generally concern and solicitude. Still, there is the usual percentage of recreation and merriment, without which each heart would cease to be social, and life become an utter burden. So it came about that the Gothic cathedral was not all a creation of unrelieved earnestness. True religion though grave and thoughtful, is also joyous and refined. It has ever been a note of genuine Catholicism that it is in many things the enemy of the extreme, the philosophy of moderation. In its palmyest days the Gothic architecture made a place for the humorous and grotesque, unconsciously perhaps, but instinctively. It was truly the expression of real life, public and private. So, with photographic accuracy, every side of that life must be reproduced. By a great and natural law that ran through the building from cornerstone to spire, everything must be not only useful, but beautiful, must be treated and finished artistically. For instance the ugly water spouts, originally of lead and marble, ran out eventually into monstrous heads known as gargoyles. All the fabled and fantastic beasts of the imagination were made to do similar service. The horror of sin, the reign of Satan, were here symbolized in a way that was dear to the mediæval mind, quite attached to the external and visible, inexperienced in the realm of pure reason and cold exact logic. Here were sermons in stone for the peasant as he looked up on market day at the vast parapet of Rheims or Strasburg. Similarly in a thousand corners of the building the free-working fancy of the artist moulded itself in a multitude of caricatures either personal or symbolical. Sometimes the carving monk cut out a hideous head of his abbot, guilty of too severe principles, too much addicted to penances of bread and water. Sometimes the workmen made ridiculous figures of one another

or gave flight to pure invention in the reign of the grotesque. Oftener, however, some general law of symbolism runs beneath all these excrescences of humor. The mediæval man was very much addicted to satire of a drastic type. He must see his victim wince and writhe, must know that the stripe cut into the bone. Yet it was a very healthy thing, and if the clergy, as the ruling power, got their share, perhaps more than their just share, they did not complain. The severest caricatures are precisely on the carved seats of the great choir where the bishop and his priests might gaze almost hourly on them and remember that the world had eyes and ears and a good smart tongue, even if it did not know Latin and could only pray on its beads. The cunning fox come to grief, the gaunt robber wolf laid low, the vanity of gluttony and impurity, the fate of pride and injustice, the shame of meanness and avarice, the comic effects of sloth and stupidity—all these and many other moral lessons were thereon written so large that he must be deaf indeed for whom the stone and wood of his very seat did not daily preach a convincing lesson, did not daily rouse the voice of conscience and the longing for a better life.

#### V.

*Where did the funds come from* that built these mighty edifices? Not a few were put up by royal generosity; others by public taxation. But even in such cases, individual help was solicited and given very largely. We have yet the account-books of some of these enterprises, and the entries are very curious. Much of the material—the marble, granite, brick, wood, was contributed gratis. A multitude of peasants offered their horses and oxen and carts to transport the same, and when they were too poor to own such property, they gave their time and labor. Women and children even stood by to contribute such help as their weak hands might offer. Every one felt that here a solemn act of religion was going on, something that transcended all ordinary enterprises. With that strong collective sense that the Church has developed, they moved on, as one man, to the creation of a monument that should bear the stamp of faith—immortality, eternity. Hundreds of noble churches were built in this way, even in small villages. To

build a large and lovely house of God, and to dwell within the shadow of its graceful spire, was the one common purpose of every community from Sicily to Norway. One deep vivifying current of religion surged through all Europe, and where it passed, edifices of the highest beauty arose, each an incarnation of profound religious temperament, each a phase of a social life that recognized gratefully the existence of God as the Father of Human Society, and the public duty of the latter to Him. The very poorest contributed—on the account-books you may yet see how one gave a bed, another a coat. The knight sacrificed his gilded helmet and his blade of Damascus, with his coat-of-mail. The parish priest gave up his tithes, the curate his modest salary. The lady sent in her laces and jewelry, the women of the people their little heirlooms of gold or silver, even such neat and desirable articles of clothing as they possessed. The farmer gave his best cow; the peddler offered a choice trinket. The serf came up with his weekly wages. And when men and women were too poor to give anything as individuals, they clubbed together in little associations. Their pennies soon swelled to silver, and the silver was turned into gold, and with the gold they cast in their hearts, and so the stones of the building got each a tongue that is yet eloquent with praise of the popular devotion. Much of the money was gotten by the weekly auction of these articles that was carried on in the public square by the foreman of the works. Indeed, the whole enterprise was like a majestic social song, a solemn hymn, whose notes rose slowly and sweetly from the earth to heaven, telling of the transformation of avarice into open-handedness, of coarseness into refinement, of selfishness into altruism, of blank ignorance and stupidity into a creative faith. Prayer and adoration, propitiation and gratitude, were finely blended in the great popular chorus. King and serf, princess and milkmaid, pope and poor sacristan—the whole of Europe moved in a vast procession before the throne of Jesus Christ, and cast each a stone on the memorial pile of religion. And, for the first time, the quasi-divine hand of art, made infinitely cunning, transformed these crude offerings into ten thousand caskets of rarest beauty, out of which rose forever the spiritual incense of love, the ravish-

ing aroma of adoration, the delicate perfumes of humility and human charity, the sweet odor of self-sacrifice. For a short time in the history of mankind art was truly a popular thing, truly an energizing, softening influence on the common heart. Insensibly artistic skill became common and native. The hand of the European man was born plastic and artistic. His eye was saturated with the secrets of color, his imagination crowded with the glories of form in line and curve, in mass and sweep. His own surroundings were insensibly dominated by the spirit of pure beauty. He was once more a Greek, only born again in Jesus, and seeing now, with the divinely soft eyes of the God-Man, a spiritual world of beauty that Phidias and Praxiteles may have suspected, but only in the vaguest manner.

## VI.

*Who were the actual workmen on the cathedrals?* They were built by corporations of workingmen known as guilds. In the Middle Ages all life was organized, was corporative. As religion was largely carried on by the corporations of monks and friars, so the civic life and its duties were everywhere in the hands of corporations. It was not exactly a government of the multitude—that was abhorrent to the men of that time. It was rather an aristocratic democracy, a kind of government in which men shared authority and power, according to the stake they had in the state, according to their personal intelligence and skill, and their personal utility or serviceableness to the common weal.

These building-corporations or guilds arose out of the very ancient unions of the stone-masons. Perhaps, very probably, these unions were never destroyed even by the first shock of barbarian conquests. On its very morrow palaces and churches and public buildings had to go up or be restored. It is certain that capable hands were forthcoming. In any case, the master-masons were more than mere stone-cutters. They were artists in the truest sense of the word. They must know the capacities of their material, its uses, its appliances, from the moment it is hewn out of the earth to the moment it shines in the wall, all elegance and strength. They were at once engineers and architects, designers and contractors. They are

known simply as "Master"—no more. Master Arnulf builds the cathedral of Florence, Master Giotto builds its lovely tower or Campanile. The masters are all bound together in a life-long union. Their apprentices serve a long term of years, but they serve on all parts of the building. They can handle the trowel or the chisel, the pencil and brush, as well as the jack-plane and the hammer. Never was there so unique and so uplifting an education of the senses as that of the mediæval apprentice. One day he will appear in the weekly meeting of the guild, and exhibit some object that he has himself made. It must be useful, and it must be beautiful. It must differ from all similar work, must have an air of distinction, be something highly personal and characteristic. This is the *master-piece*, the proof that he is fit to apply for work in London or Dublin, Paris or Milan. It may be a hinge or a door-knob, a carved head or a tool, a curious bit of framing or a specimen of filigree. It is judged by the criteria I have mentioned, judged by his peers and elders. If accepted, he passes into their society, and is assured of occupation for his lifetime.

He will now attend the meetings, pay his dues to support the sick and crippled members, assist with advice and help at the general consultations, devote his whole time and being to the progress of the cathedral. Whether stone-cutter, carver, joiner, ironsmith, goldsmith, cabinet-maker, it is all one. The building arts are equal, ensouled by one spirit, and aiming at one end. For the present, there is but one corporation on the building. It includes all the workers, and is divided into masters, apprentices and administration. This is the Lodge, the Bauhütte, the Laubia or covered cloister—like the covered walk quite common in North Italian cities—where the finer carving was done, the plans kept and studied, and moneys taken in, the wages paid out, and the whole work or "opera" administered. The shed that yet protects our stone-masons when engaged at a public work, is the modern equivalent of the mediæval Lodge.

On signing the articles of the union or guild, he will learn that it is intensely religious, that he must attend mass Sundays and holy days, lead a moral and Catholic life, abstain from swearing, drunkenness and immorality. He will learn that



the guild supports its own chapel and priest to say an early mass daily for them. He will be told that the Lodge or workshop is like a hall of justice, where the rights of each man, above all his free personality, must be respected. He will learn that all teaching is free to apprentices, and that, while there is a preference for the sons or relatives of the masters, natural aptitude and vocation are especially sought for. All this he will learn at Ely or Peterborough as well as at Toledo or Burgos.

Each guild was under the protection of the Blessed Trinity and some saint. It had solemn services once a year in honor of its patron. It buried solemnly its members, and held anniversary services. Gradually its own chapel became the center of its religious life, whose details were carried on by its own priests. Religion covered every act of its corporate life—and in the palmy days of the great guilds, their self-consciousness was striking. They bowed to the bishop, indeed, and the pope, king or emperor, who were often included as members of their roll-call—but he was, indeed, a strong parish priest or abbot whose authority they consented to acknowledge.

In the guild meetings, a regular and perfect administration, of great probity and equity, went on, almost without remuneration. The number of apprentices, the time of their service and the degree of their graduation, the quality and quantity of work in each line, the disputes and quarrels between all workmen, the wages and the sick dues, the charity allowances, the expenses of religion, of feasts and amusements, of public contributions—all these came up in due order, and were one open source of popular education for the uses of real life.

The guild, being a principal element of the civic life, soon had its badges of office, its mace and golden collar, its chains and rings, its great drinking horns and table plate of gold and silver, its countless beautiful masterpieces. It grew rich in lands and revenues, and was a factor to be counted with in every great struggle of the municipal life. In Italy the guilds play a principle rôle in the fierce historical warfare of Guelf and Ghibelline, the adherents of the pope and the partisans of the emperor. They are concerned in every social and political movement, sometimes on the right side, sometimes on the

wrong, and it is largely in their history that must be studied the fatal decay of the democratic spirit of the High Middle Ages.

It is not my purpose to treat of their decline, and the reasons for it—that chapter of their history is highly instructive even now. Suffice it to know that they were the real builders of the cathedral, that the principles and spirits of genuine Christian brotherhood were long the bond that held them together, that they were the creation of Catholicism at the height of its earthly power, that they looked on mutual respect and helpfulness as essential to society, that they held labor to be the noblest of human things, that they looked on beauty as an essential of true labor, its smile of contentment, its act of divine adoration; that they were guided by a sense of moderation and fairness in all their dealings; that waste of time and dilapidation of material were looked on as sinful and shameful; that in them each man felt himself a living self-determining element, a member of the whole work, and threw himself into it with a vigor and earnestness, at once entire and affectionate.

Thus the building arose in an atmosphere of religion, all its lines laid by men to whom its future uses were sacred, whose families threw back into the common treasury the surplus of the master's earnings. It was a great trust that was laid on the city—and its execution brought out in the citizens many of the virtues that a trust creates—a sense of responsibility, prudential measures, economic foresight, calm and large and disinterested counsel. In as far as we inherit many distinctive traits of this kind from our ancestors, it is the mediæval church-building that helped originally to create them.

## VII.

In her great cathedrals, therefore, the Catholic Church has created durable edifices of popular utility and perfect beauty. The old philosophers used to say that the beautiful was the splendor of the true, in which case the truth of Catholicism as the genuine religion of the people would be amply vouched for. All the arts are dependent on architecture, and conditioned by it. Without its great spaces, there is neither monumental painting nor sculpture, neither music in its highest forms, nor the

dramatic movement of public worship. In creating the noble cathedrals of Europe, Catholicism thus created the fine arts, or at least was their nurse and protector. Music, indeed, is absolutely her creation, and can never utterly break away from its original home, however wild and wayward it may seem. It is not the pipes of Pan nor the songs of Apollo that echo even in our most debased modern music. It is the psalm of David, the canticle of the martyr, the praiseful hymn of the morning and the calm, sad song of evening. The cathedral was the workshop of Catholicism during the Middle Ages. It was vast because she had the whole city to train up. It was open on all sides, because she was the common mother of civil society. It was high because she aimed at uplifting both mind and heart, and making for them a level just below the angelical and celestial. It was manifold in its members and elements, for she permeated all society and challenged every activity and every interest. It was all lightsome and soaring, because it was the spiritual mountain top, whence the soul could take its flight to the unseen world of light and joy. It was long drawn out because the long journey of life ends happily only for those who rest in Jesus. It lay everywhere cruciform on the earth, for the shadow of the cross falls henceforth over all humanity, blessing, enfolding, saving. Never did any institution create a monument that more thoroughly expressed its own scope and aims than the Catholic religion, when it uplifted the great mediæval cathedrals. It is said that since the unity of Christendom was broken at the Reformation, no more harmonious bells have been cast, like those of the Middle Ages. So, too, no more great cathedrals have arisen—in more senses than one the mould was broken from whence they came, the deep, universal, practical, intensely spiritual faith of humanity that for once transcended race and nation, set aside the particular and discordant, and created things of absolute harmony, and therefore of beauty as absolute as man may evoke from the objects of sense.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.



## A DEFINITION OF LITERATURE.

It is very hard to find even a working definition of literature. Literature is so closely the expression of life, and the changing conditions of life, that we can hardly limit it, except by life itself. And a working definition must have limitations, though it may not entirely cover the thing intended to be defined. To the Greeks of Athens and the Romans of the city of Augustus, it meant the imitation of elegant models; to us it means the expression of the phenomena of life in the form of written words.

We can understand the meaning of literature only by studying the effects of ethical, social, political movements upon life; and this is best done through the literatures of peoples subject to their changes. The body of Hebrew literature, through which God himself has spoken, is the history of the Jewish people. If it were merely the clear dry annals of the Jewish people, it would be history, not literature. But when we find the minds of David and Job revealed in words, we have essential history, but something more than a mere annal, which is not literature.

Literature, as far as it can be described to-day, is more than the reflection of life; and it is much more than it seemed to be to the Athenian Greeks, the Augustan Romans, the French of the time of Richelieu, or the Italians of the Renaissance; for, in their eyes, it was a narrow thing, capable of rigid definition. It was not what they imagined it to be, and they—as the “*Poetics of Aristotle*” and its imitations show us—did not really succeed in defining it. It was always elusive, in spite of their fine rhetorical terms. They pursued it, as Apollo pursued Daphne, only, when they came near, to find that the nymph had turned into a bay tree. To them, literature was a Galatea, who, by all the rules, should have been marble, but who, under the very eyes of the critic, amazed him by assuming the life and incomprehensible fantasies of the universal woman.

Literature in general, when we attempt to define it, becomes as elusive as the highest of its forms, which is poetry. Litera-

ture reflects life, in all its phases, to use a trite comparison, as some of the old Gothic cathedrals reflect life—from the agonizing figure on the rood screen to the grinning gargoyles on the roof and the vile little demons—the seven deadly sins—carved on the backs of the remote stalls. It has its spires that spring up as high as the clouds, and its crawling things of the earth, symbolical of the vices of the people that produce it. Its form changes, not only with every great impulse of force, but with every slight change of emotion. It expresses, it illuminates, it interprets; it cannot exist without thought, but it is more than thought. It is not philosophy, but it is impregnated with the effects of philosophy. It is not logic or metaphysics, or ethics; but it cannot exist in perfection without a logical basis—and it partakes of metaphysics and ethics. It is neither scientia in the old sense—for pure and colorless truth cannot be literature—or science in the new; yet it exists through truth, and its phenomena are best explained by the methods of science. It is not history, yet it is the beginning of history. It is not the personal word alone, yet the personal word is necessary to its existence. As I said, it is not ethics, yet it expresses the morality of the nation whose life it interprets. It is minutely personal—personality is one of its essences, and yet it represents better than anything else the national life.

It has made war and restored peace; it has raised men to the shining feet of God and led them to hell “to the lascivious pulsings of the lute.” Dryden, in “Alexander’s Feast,” manifests the power of music, but it was not music alone that appealed to the great Alexander; it was literature allied to music—the soul of the body.

The definitions of literature are as numerous and as inadequate as those offered for poetry; and they have given rise to as many misunderstandings. These misunderstandings have induced certain modern scientists to scorn literature as lawless, and to assume the very language of literature to express their jibes. Not always to assume it with grace, but, at any rate, to use it, in order to be heard by all. These jeering scientists have this, at least, in common with the God they doubt—that they, unconsciously imitating Him, took the form of literature when they spoke to man. And the more literary they are, the

more the world heeds them. These misunderstandings have led that most methodical and scientific man of letters, Ferdinand Brunetière, to assert that science is bankrupt; it has enormous assets—assets so great that it need not apply to the theologians for the certification of its cheques. Its bad reputation is entirely due to the fact that certain of its stockholders have forced drafts on that great theological establishment which it can neither dominate nor destroy.

Literature is not, as Mr. Louis Stevenson once defined it, a mere *fille de joie*, to be enjoyed and cast aside—a *ballade* for the ears of the banquetting prince, a precious *rondeau* for the languid lady in the balcony. Literature is not, as Cardinal Newman implies, only the personal use of language. It is not as Mr. Matthew Arnold would have us believe, the ethics of the philosophy of life. It is not as Mr. Swinburne insists, at its culmination, only imagination and harmony.

In his "Comparative Literature," Professor Posnett says that works of literature, whether in verse or prose, "are the handicraft of imagination rather than reflection, aim at the pleasure of the greatest number of the nation rather than instruction and practical effects, and appeal to general rather than specialized knowledge." Mr. Posnett goes on to say that "every element of this definition clearly depends on the limited spheres of social and mental evolution—the separation of imagination from experience, of didactic purpose from æsthetic pleasure, and that specialization of knowledge which is so largely due to the economic development known as 'division of labor.'"

We will, I am sure, all consent to the assertion that the value of literature must be sought for in inherent personal qualities, and its source must be looked for in human nature rather than in artful rules gathered from the examination of classic books. We are sure, too, that the maxims of Aristotle—those I mean which are not founded on human nature's love of contrast, hatred of monotony and the desire to be taken out of the bounds of self—fail to indicate the scientific bases of literature because they force the material to suit the shape of the mould they impose. We have gone beyond the blind acceptance of the old standards to which the epic, the tragedy and the lyric were forced to

adjust themselves. It is as impossible to use them to-day as it is impossible to turn our uninflected English into genuine hexameters. On close comparison with the thing defined, Professor Posnett's definition proves as unsatisfactory as hitherto all definitions have proved.

Let us consider those manifestations of the life of the soul on which he founds this definition. However we may differ in opinion as to the relative value of other works of high literary art, there is only one opinion about Dante's "Inferno." You may argue about the "Purgatorio," or the "Paradiso," if you will. You may insist, too, that Milton's "Paradise Regained" is a failure; but you must admit the eminence of "Paradise Lost." No cultivated man will deny the masterly qualities of the first part of "Faust," though he may be reserved in his admiration of the second. It is agreed that the "Inferno," "Paradise Lost," and the first part of "Faust" are noble works of literature. And it is plain that the object or the effect of these three masterpieces is not to give pleasure—that higher pleasure of which even the Utilitarians admit the existence. The object of Dante was beyond and above the giving of pleasure. When Milton pondered and wrought until "dim suffusion" veiled his orbs, it was not to give pleasure to the greatest number. And who really believes that Keats, wrapt in the vision of Diana and Endymion, spoke with the Utilitarian purpose? And who, knowing how Maurice de Guerin wrote the "*Centaure*" for God, silence and himself, can fail to see that some of the greatest things of literature owe their existence to the desire to express and yet not to communicate?

There are great poems like "Sordello" and the "Ring and the Book" of Browning, that are beyond the liking or understanding of the greatest number. If we leave out the author's intention and consider only the matter of effect, we find, in the sonnets of Shakespeare, great literature so personal and yet so appealing, that the interpreters far exceed in number those to whom its beauty clearly speaks. That flower of lyrical literature, the "Epithalamium" of Spencer touches only the few. Admitting that the Inferno is literature, and, leaving out the question as to whether it appeals to many or not, we cannot

help seeing that Professor Posnett's definition does not touch it. I accentuate his definition because it is largely accepted and because Professor Posnett assumes that it is scientific. It is evident that in the "Inferno" Dante aimed at "instruction and practical effects"; it is evident that he attained his object by illuminating his processes with imagination and harmony; and yet, if we accept this very modern definition, Dante and Milton must be exiled, as Plato would have exiled all the poets—but for a different reason.

When Orlando carved the name of Rosalind on the bark of the oaks in the forest of Arden, he felt the impulse of many poets—yet he made the name only for silence and himself. Literature cannot be judged as literature by the Utilitarian criterion. To make it a matter for the suffrage of the greatest number is to take it into the ground now occupied by politics. A literary man crowned by the universal suffrage of the American people—if the elect did not mercifully intimidate voters—would be, for all time, a pleasing example of mediocrity.

With the beginning of the new century, the worship of Goethe has taken new vigor. On all sides ascend thick incense clouds to the manes of the many-sided. But why is Goethe acclaimed? Because of the æsthetic pleasure his lyrics give—because of the purely romantic qualities of "Goetz," or the imaginative glow of "Faust"? Not at all—though these qualities, too, are acclaimed—but because, in his works are said to be found the germs of modern scientific development. He is not regarded as less than a poet for this or less of a man of letters, but as more of a poet and more of a maker of literature. A great part of his claim on the modern mind rests, then, on the very qualities which Professor Posnett eliminates from literature. But, Dante, the poet philosopher who expressed Aristotle and Saint Thomas and all the science of his day, who founded the study of Comparative Philology, would not be lowered in the scale of literature, if all his erudition were plucked from him. Erudition or science or experience are only unpoetical when the poet is too small for the weight he attempts to carry. But Dante was able to give harmony and the imaginative nimbus and symmetry and color to both abstractions and facts. There are poems great in themselves,



which are all compact of harmony and imagination—for example, Shelley's "Ode to the Skylark," Keat's "Grecian Urn," Lanier's "Centennial Ode," Patmore's "Ode to the Body." These may be covered by this definition, and still, the mystical bases of one of them, founded on philosophy and theology, come perilously near to ruling it out.

Permit me to repeat Professor Posnett's definition. It is found on page eighteen of his "Comparative Literature." Literature consists "of works which, whether in verse or prose, are the handicraft of imagination rather than reflection, aim at the pleasure of the greatest possible number of the nation rather than instruction and practical effects, and appeal to general rather than to specialized knowledge."

If we deny the value of this definition, how can literature be defined? I am not sure that the big word literature can be defined at all—I am not certain that the great and everchanging subject it stands for will ever be rigidly described. But it seems to me that to-day literature is the expression in writing of thought, experience, observation, emotion, mood, knowledge personally expressed. Newman comes very near to this in his definition of style. *Scientia*, pure and simple, is not literature. There is no personal expression in the Apostle's Creed, though the personal pronoun is used for the will that accepts *scientia*. The Apostle's Creed is not literature; it belongs wholly to no one person; it is universal. The epical Isaas, the pastoral Ruth, the lyrical David, are literature. And close are the relations of this literature to the spiritual life.

Darwin's book on the "Descent of Man" is literature, but not of the highest kind. Newman's "Grammar of Assent" is literature, but not of so high a kind as his more personal "Apologia." Tyndall's "Lectures" are literature—more so, from the point of view of style, than Herbert Spencer's. Froude's "History of England" is literature, differing from the two last mentioned books, because it is of the literature of fiction and because it is altogether finer in its expression. Lingard, on the contrary, made good history, but poor litera-

<sup>1</sup>"Comparative Literature," by H. Macaulay Posnett. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1896. "The Science of Comparative Literature," H. Macaulay Posnett, *The Contemporary Review*, 1901.

ture. The circle of science does not touch the circle of literature when science expresses itself impersonally—anything personally expressed and not inconsistent with the genius of its language is literature; but the degrees of literature differ as the faintest nebulae from the flashing constellations. This is as far as I can go in trying to describe literature.

But life is the pulse of literature—literature marks the movements of the tendencies of life. It progresses as the individual progresses; it progresses as the nation progresses. And yet this progress, so far as the nation is concerned, has frequently ceased; it has ceased even before the death of the nation. The literature of a nation that has been great never dies. Plutarch and Seneca have influenced minds, Theocritus and Horace have influenced hearts more than Cæsar or Augustus ever influences mind or hearts. Life has always turned towards God, and literature echoing life has always written the symbol of God. Life expressed by Æschylus is far from the life that made Racine as he was—life changing with Job is a far different life from the life that Faust loved—and yet from Cædmon to Milton, from Pindar's Odes to Wordsworth's "Intimations of Immortality" life turns to the First Cause. St. Augustine expresses His beauty, Dante His splendor and justice, and Longfellow, drawn by that chain which binds genius to Him, shows His halo on the brow of faithful womanhood. Life cannot escape from its Creator, and literature, pulsating with life, acknowledges His power. Leopardi, Carducci, Swinburne—fallen, clad, to use Ruskin's phrase, in "melancholy gold," curse the flaming sword that will not allow Pan to come back to earth. Leopardi asks for death, Carducci and Swinburne yearn for the time before the Gallilean had conquered. They express tendencies of life, not merely themselves. God, who is the centre of life, is the centre of the written expression of life, which is literature. St. Paul cries, with God in his heart—"Charity is patient, is kind, charity envieth not, dealeth not perversely, is not puffed up. . . . We see through a glass in a dark manner; but then face to face. Now I know in part, but then I shall know even as I am known." St. Augustine begins a passage full of joy in God. "And thou gavest my mother another answer to her prayers, which I re-

member." All this, coming from the soul of life is literature. If St. Thomas, in the "Hymns of the Blessed Sacrament" expresses scientia, his manner is exceedingly personal and literary. The theologian who pretends to despise literature, or to look upon it as a mere toy, as the Turks looked on woman, is likely to fall into the heresy of the Turks and to assume that his mother had no soul.

There can be no doubt that some of the misunderstandings of the relations of literature to life are due to the practitioners of literature themselves. They have claimed to be as mystically irresponsible as the Delphic oracle or the Howling Derivishes. Imagination—untrammeled imagination—was their idol. They pretended that they lived in flashes of divine fire—when, in fact, the clever had frequently caught them trying to strike damp matches upon moldy "afflatuses." There were no laws for them; they sang as the wind sings; they were reeds by the river of the Ineffable. They gushed carefully written impromptus. Order, dignity, knowledge was valueless. And the more ignorant of the cultured took these gentlemen at their own valuation. And hence arose legends of the mad, glad, bad poet. And he warmed his hands by the divine fire in his cold garret. And he had no food but a roast leg of Pegasus served with laurel leaves boiled by the muses. And there was not any such person. And so they called him a Bohemian.

There have been, too, enthusiastic apologists who could not see that the great author and the little author were bound by the conditions of ordinary life. Literature, they have said—literature that comes from great minds, is universal. Its producer knows all things by intuition. But Dante was a hard student; still, there were many things he did not know. Coleridge, like a priest of Isis, gashed himself, to adore Shakespeare. The Bard of Avon was all-knowing, of all time—intuition made him so. Law!—gods, what a lawyer he was! Philosopher!—he must have been in dreams, intimate with the Greeks! Zoologist!—how wonderful! In spite of Coleridge, lawyers have shown how superficial was Shakespeare's knowledge of law. It is evident that he was so ignorant of the facts of animal life, beyond Warwickshire, that he might have written

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Goldsmith's "Animated Nature." What he saw—and he knew how to see—he expressed. He was not above life or law or the conditions of life. He was of his time; his local prejudices and points of view limited him. His power of synthesis was great, but he cultivated it from his youth up. He was no more all-knowing than Dante, or Calderon, or Goethe, or Wordsworth was all-knowing.

On the other hand, in English-speaking countries, which are the last to realize what art means, literature has not been approached rationally, as Matthew Arnold scornfully admits. The man who had lately acquired much from the Germans without in the least understanding it, laughed loftily at literature because he had discovered a new worm. Dante might sing of the seraphim, but your scientist of this sort doubted the existence of seraphim because, as there was no record of their vaccination, they must have died of smallpox. Mere philosophy he might accept; anybody of ordinary intelligence could count combinations of vowels, and it was even possible that the catarrh prevalent in the lake districts might have effected the consonantal sounds. These gentlemen would have sacrificed the Book of Job for a new principle of motion and the Iliad for the discovery of the jumping apparatus in the skeleton of a flea. A new earth had come, without a new heaven—romance and poetry and lyrical beauty had gone. Literature and science had met, and science had conquered, leaving

"A broken chancel with a broken cross."

Of course this was irrational. The only man of letters who took this sort of thing seriously was Zola. He tried to turn himself into a scientific naturalist; he became a creature so monstrous that even curiosity became disgusted.

There can be no conflict between literature and science. There could be no conquering of one by the other, nor driving of one by the other out of its proper domain, unless the longing to draw nearer the immortal, the love of harmony, the interest in other lives, the desire for the ideal, the yearning for a broader and a better life were taken from our existence here; for literature, the production of life, answers to the burning needs of life.

Lowell says that fairy tales, consolations in the twilight of desolation, are "the dreams of the poor." Science could analyze Puck and prove him to be wandering phosphorus, and that the spectres of Rip Van Winkle in the Catskills were due to microbes in his whiskey. Science, for a time—being young and ignorant, but not intrinsically evil—seemed to forget that humanity loves the fairies of its dreams, not because they existed, but because it wants them to exist. It was a phase of life that science should have attacked, and not literature which merely presented this phase.

Literature, rationally studied, will be found to touch life at all points. It does not always concern itself with the dreams of those who dwell in exile. It does not always concern itself with ideals. "Man's work," Newman says, in "The Idea of a University," "will savour of man, in his element and power excellent and admirable, but prone to disorder and excess, to error and to sin. Such, too, will be his literature; it will have the beauty and the fierceness, the sweetness and the rankness of the natural man, and, with all its richness and greatness, it will necessarily offend the senses of those who, in the Apostle's words, are really exercised to discern between good and evil."

This is true, for literature is like the string of a violin in tune; it responds to the slightest change of national temperament. It was aristocratic and classical under Augustus and Louis XIV; aristocratic and romantic under Elizabeth. It became in England, in 1688, classic again, to drift gradually into democracy. In France, after '93, it was at once artificial and sentimental. When Jeremy Bentham's ideas flourished in England, it became Utilitarian and preached the doctrines of common sense. When Bolingbroke reflected the tendencies of the time, it was affected with polite Deism. Bolingbroke furnished Voltaire with ideas. And France, in return, sent artificial tears and sentimental theories to the English Sterne.

Life acts and reacts through literature; it asserts and denies through literature. But who can say how far the vital book influences a people and how far the people have influenced the vitality of a book. Literature forces the abstractions of the philosopher into the conduct of life. The pessimism of Schopenhauer is brought, through the novel, to our very hearthstones.

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The illusions of self-styled science permeate our familiar companion, the daily newspaper. "Man," as Fierns-Gevaert says, in "*La Tristesse Contemporaine*" thinks of himself as an equal co-worker with God; he believes that modern inventions supply oversights of the Creator in the beginning." One may find something of this in Rudyard Kipling. "All modernity," continues Fierns-Gevaert, "suffers for the lack of love. Our multiplied activities, our haste in work, the quickness in communication, the desire for long voyages and the ease with which they are accomplished hasten to a speedy end the marked decadence of meditation." Philosophical speculation and industrial changes effect the life of all classes, and literature expresses these effects. It seems only the other day as if the whole world was governed by Pessimism, with literature as its prophet. The essay, the poem, the novel, even the little lyric spoke of gloom and of hopeless gloom. Studied rationally as a manifestation of the psychology of life—of the psychology of the individual, as well as of the psychology of a people—literature gives the clue to the problem. But what method can be supplied to humanity to tell us when the action will end, in any movement, and the reaction begin? And until we can find some scientific means of discovering the laws that govern the flux and re-flux of human minds, we must be content to use literature as a working test. When the various human phenomena are explained, there will be no need to examine literature apart from this explanation. The limitations of life bar out the analysis of literature aside from life. One limitedly explains the other; and just as a single phase of literature seems fixed, a reaction or a revolt begins. "Romance, the root of all evil is dead, the pernicious ideal is dead," Zola exclaimed triumphantly, not very long ago; "the dreams of the poor are gone, the legends of the saints and heroes are gone—science as expressed by the realist is the meaning of the modern world!"

Suddenly there is a change. The civilized world plunges into a sea of romance. The realistic rats and the pumpkin of Cinderella are changed to the apparatus of splendor in a moment. Is "*Cyrano de Bergerac*" or "*Ulysses*" a cause or an effect? This much is certain; its idealism has found a ready response from the heart of life. Pessimism goes out; the dilet-

tanti even smile again. In Paris, it is said aloud that God may no longer fear that He may not be believed in. Science no longer talks of analyzing the seraphim. Zola has approached Lourdes with the air of a scrofulous giraffe trying to reach the morning star with the end of his nose. The world all at once finds him ridiculous. Literature reflected the change from blatant doubt to mystical reverence, and concentrated the rays of the new light. How powerful it is in its action upon life, and how sensitive to every change in the tendencies of life!

The wizard waves his wand and we forget or are consoled. High to Heaven we go with St. John or down to Hell with Dante. We have left, for a time, the chill of earth's wind. Life demands this—and the demand is a cry for immortality. Literature answers the demand; for literature is a servant and a master of life.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

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## ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE MURDER OF HYPATIA.

St. Cyril, of Alexandria, holds a distinguished place in the annals of ancient ecclesiastical history. He was a close relative of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria; according to Socrates,<sup>1</sup> a nephew, and the brother's son according to Nicephorus.<sup>2</sup> After his uncle's death, on the 15 of October, 412, he was elected to succeed him in the patriarchal see of Alexandria; not without a severe contest against his competitor, Timothy, archdeacon of Alexandria, the candidate of another party supported by the local government. The event occurred only three days after the death of Theophilus.<sup>3</sup> St. Cyril proved to be an energetic man, even more so than his predecessor.<sup>4</sup> In the year 430 began his controversy with Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, on the physical union of the two natures in Christ, which ended with a condemnation of his adversary's views in the council of Ephesus held in the year 431.<sup>5</sup> These occurrences placed his name in the rank of the foremost champions of Catholic orthodoxy. In the early years of his episcopal career, however, several events happened, on account of which the personal merits of St. Cyril are often minimized. One of these was the murder of the Alexandrian philosopher Hypatia, with which we are here particularly concerned.

Hypatia was the daughter of Theon, mathematician and philosopher of Alexandria. Endowed with a powerful, intelligent mind she took up the studies of mathematics and philosophy, wherein she became so proficient that she taught these sciences publicly and was admitted as a lecturer in the neoplatonic school of her native city.<sup>6</sup> All the writers agree in praising her exceptional learning and her virtues and modesty. The contemporary historian, Socrates, of Constantinople, nar-

<sup>1</sup> "H. E.," VII, chp. 7; "P. G.," Vol. 67, p. 749.

<sup>2</sup> "H. E.," XIV, chp. 25; "P. G.," Vol. CXLVI, p. 1137.

<sup>3</sup> Socrates, "H. E.," *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Socrates, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hefele, "C. G.," Vol. II, pp. 141 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Socrates, "H. E.," VII, chp. 15; Suidas, "Lexicon," s. v. Hypatia.

rates that Hypatia excelled all the philosophers of her time and attracted from all sides pupils eager to learn the principles of philosophy.<sup>1</sup> One of her disciples, Synesius of Cyrene, afterwards bishop of Ptolemais in Libya or in the Pentapolis, had so much respect for her knowledge that he submitted to her for approval two of his own works.<sup>2</sup> She was also known as a writer on mathematical and chronological subjects. Thus she wrote a commentary on the works of Diophantus, a mathematician of the fourth century;<sup>3</sup> a commentary on the astronomical canon, a chronological table much used in Egypt;<sup>4</sup> and a commentary on the conic sections of the learned geometrician Apollonius of Perge in Pamphylia.<sup>5</sup> These works do not exist any more; but the titles of them are mentioned by Suidas in the paragraph on Hypatia. No less was she esteemed for her exemplary and virtuous life. The historian Socrates informs us, that on account of her exceeding modesty all respected and admired her; and nothing was thought of seeing her in the midst of a company of men.<sup>6</sup> Her pupil, Synesius, the bishop of Ptolemais, entertained sentiments of almost filial respect towards the philosopher, as his letters written to her attest. Among other things he calls her his mother, his sister and his teacher.<sup>7</sup> She must therefore have possessed virtues of no ordinary kind, to inspire such reverence to those that came in contact with her. Just for these reasons it is the more regrettable that she found an ignominious death at the hands of a few Christians instigated thereto by a zeal of a very questionable character. The incident occurred in the month of March, at the time of the fast, in the fourth year of St. Cyril's episcopate; therefore in the year 416.<sup>8</sup>

There were historians who connected the name of St. Cyril with the tragic death of the Alexandrian philosopher, and who did not hesitate to declare him guilty. They suspected that owing to the extremely impulsive zeal displayed by him at

<sup>1</sup> Socrates, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 153, "P. G.," Vol. LXVI, p. 1533.

<sup>3</sup> "Encycl. Brit.," s. v. Algebra.

<sup>4</sup> Ideler, "Hdb. der Chronol.," Vol. I, pp. 109 ff.

<sup>5</sup> "Encycl. Brit.," s. v. Apollonius.

<sup>6</sup> "H. E.," VII, chp. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Ep. 16, "P. G.," Vol. LXVI, p. 1352.

<sup>8</sup> Socrates, "H. E.," chp. VII, 15.



other occasions he had a share in the deal, although his directions were carried out by his subordinates.<sup>1</sup> Other writers, whilst not believing in a direct complicity of St. Cyril in the murder of Hypatia, still hold that the patriarch of Alexandria was indirectly responsible for it; inasmuch as by other actions of his he encouraged his men to perpetrate the crime. This impression is left on the mind of the reader by "Hypatia," the novel of Charles Kingsley, which although published in 1853 is still widely read. There St. Cyril is represented as expressing a regret that the lecture room of Hypatia was still standing; that the great and powerful flocked to it; and that thus the kingdom of God was trampled under foot.<sup>2</sup> There also St. Cyril is represented as keeping alive the excessive zeal of the Christians and as stirring them up to deeds of violence.<sup>3</sup> And after the murder of Hypatia had been committed, Cyril, while disclaiming any direct part in it, still endeavored to justify the murderers and refused to give them up to the secular authorities.<sup>4</sup> These few references indicate plainly that according to the author of the novel, St. Cyril secretly desired the death of Hypatia, that unconsciously he stirred up his people thereto, and that the execution of the philosopher was not altogether unwelcome news to him.

The question as to the responsibility of St. Cyril in the murder of Hypatia has been discussed by Catholic scholars. A writer in the *Dublin Review* for April, 1867, has dealt with it;<sup>5</sup> and after him Kopallik in his biography of St. Cyril.<sup>6</sup> Still it may be well to examine it again under its double aspect mentioned above.

In the ancient writings only two accounts are found about the assassination of Hypatia. The first one is contained in the work of Socrates, a lawyer of Constantinople, who towards the middle of the fifth century wrote an ecclesiastical history in seven books. It was meant as a continuation to the first work of the kind by Eusebius, bishop of Cæsareæ; and extended from the resignation of the emperor Diocletian in the year 305

<sup>1</sup> Kopallik, "Cyrillus von Alexandrien," pp. 24, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Caldwell Co., New York, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 317, 318.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 476, 477.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 353, 354, 374, 375.

<sup>6</sup> "Cyrillus von Alexandrien," pp. 12 ff.

up to about the year 440.<sup>1</sup> His narrative, therefore, may be considered as a contemporary testimony. In the translation it reads as follows: "About that time the envy armed itself against this woman. For because she conversed quite frequently with Orestes, this aroused a calumny against her among the Church people, as if indeed she were the one who did not permit Orestes to enter again into friendship with the bishop. And hence some fervid men, led by a certain Peter, a 'reader,' having conceived a common plan, watch the woman returning home from some place. And having thrown her from the litter they drag her to the Church, surnamed the 'Cæsareum.'<sup>2</sup> Then, having taken off her garment, they killed her with shells. And having torn her to pieces they carried the remains to a place called 'Cinaron'<sup>3</sup> and consumed them with fire. This caused no small shame to Cyril and to the Church of the Alexandrians; for murders and battles and things similar to these are altogether unbecoming to those who follow Christ."

For a complete understanding of this passage it will be necessary to relate the events that preceded and led up to the murder of Hypatia. The Orestes spoken of in the narrative was none but the prefect of Alexandria or rather of Egypt, whose enmity with St. Cyril was well known to the people of the city. Very likely it existed from the beginning, viz., since the election of St. Cyril. In fact, as has been pointed out above, the secular authorities did not help the nephew of the deceased Theophilus towards becoming bishop of Alexandria; their candidate was the archdeacon Timothy. Socrates mentions merely one of the officials as being opposed to the candidacy of St. Cyril; this was Abundantius, the commander of the imperial soldiery.<sup>4</sup> However, it is altogether likely that the prefect Orestes, if he was then in that position, shared the dislike for St. Cyril with the officer of the army. At any rate he soon conceived a deep hatred for the bishop of Alexandria, whom he considered a rival on the field of his jurisdiction, and an undesired observer of all his public acts.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bardenhewer, "Patrologie" (Freiburg, 1899), p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> At the time one of the principal churches in Alexandria. Kopallik, p. 24, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> A place, perhaps, outside of the city. Kopallik, p. 24, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Socrates, "H. E.," VII, chp. 7.

Several circumstances contributed to strengthen this impression of the prefect. One day that he was issuing certain ordinances in the theater of Alexandria, a large number of people assembled to take cognizance of the governor's instructions. The Jews of the city were especially well represented, and many partisans of St. Cyril had also repaired to the place. Among these there was a teacher of grammar, named Hierax, a most fervent admirer of the bishop and the leader in the applause at the conferences of the latter. As soon as the Jews, who any way were very hostile to the Christians, noticed the presence of this man, they began to shout that he had come for no other reason than to stir up a sedition among the people. Orestes, ill-disposed as he was towards the bishop, listened to the expostulations of the Jews and inflicted a severe punishment on the unfortunate grammar-teacher by submitting him to public torture in the theater. St. Cyril, rightly offended at the treachery of the Jews, called to himself their leaders and warned them not to arouse any more riots against the Christians. The Jews, little heeding these threats, endeavored, on the contrary, to do all possible harm to the subjects of the bishop. One night they slaughtered a large number of them in the streets of Alexandria, after having called them out of their houses by the false news that one of their churches, that of St. Alexander, was burning. This was too much for the energetic patriarch to bear. With a large concourse of people he went out, took possession of all the Jewish synagogues, drove the Jews themselves out of the city and permitted the multitude to take hold of their possessions. This new incident, naturally enough, was considered by the prefect to be an encroachment on his own power, and a full report of the affair was sent by him to the Emperor Theodosius II. St. Cyril, on his part, justified his conduct by making known to the Emperor the crimes committed by the Jews. Still he hoped to pacify again the prefect and sent messengers to him, bearing proposals of a reconciliation. Orestes would not listen to any discourses of friendship; and even when the bishop held out to him the book of the Gospels, he remained unmoved, and since then the enmity between them became irreconcilable.

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<sup>1</sup> Socrates, "H. E.," VII, chp. 13.

Matters were badly complicated by the advent of about five hundred monks, who left their monasteries in the mountains of Nitria and came to the city of Alexandria to take up the cause of St. Cyril.<sup>1</sup> The manner in which they did it was rather primitive. When they saw the prefect riding in his carriage through the streets of the city, they insulted him with offensive words and called him a sacrificer<sup>2</sup> and a Greek.<sup>3</sup> In spite of his protests that he was baptized by Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, and hence a Christian, one of the monks, by the name of Ammonius, threw a stone at him. It was so well directed that it struck the prefect on the head, and the blood gushing forth from the wound, scattered all over his body. His guardsmen, frightened at the unexpected attack, fled in all directions with the exception of only a few. Finally the people of Alexandria came to his rescue; they dispersed the monks, but got hold of Ammonius and brought him to the prefect. Orestes dealt out justice to him on the spot; Ammonius was submitted to torture for the murderous attack upon the governor and was kept in tortures until he died. St. Cyril, when hearing of this, committed a rash act by exhibiting public honors to the dead monk's body. He gave the title of a martyr to Ammonius and deposited his remains in one of the churches in the city. However, when some of the more moderate among the Christians remonstrated with the bishop for giving undue credit to Ammonius, he dropped the matter and endeavored to obliterate its memory. The whole occurrence, however, only added new fuel to the evergrowing enmity between Orestes and the patriarch of Alexandria.<sup>4</sup> And finally it led to the tragic death of the philosopher Hypatia, which was narrated above.

Coming now to the question whether St. Cyril was responsible for the murder of Hypatia, it is evident from the passage quoted above, that the historian Socrates had not the slightest suspicion of it. The atrocious deed was committed by some Church people, on their own initiative, because they thought she

<sup>1</sup> Egyptian monks came to Alexandria under Theophilus, Cyril's predecessor; the Nitrian monks, in particular, assisted him against the Origenists. Socrates, "H. E.," VII, chp. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *I. e.*, who sacrificed to the gods.

<sup>3</sup> *I. e.*, a pagan.

<sup>4</sup> Socrates, "H. E.," VII, chpp. 13, 14.

was an obstacle in the way toward a reconciliation between Orestes and the patriarch. But not a hint is given which would point out that, in the opinion of Socrates, St. Cyril had a hand in deal. All the historian says about the bishop with reference to this matter is that the bloody crime brought no small shame on Cyril. And this passage can easily be understood without supposing any participation in the murder on the part of the patriarch. For after all, it had been done by some of his overzealous spiritual children, who, moreover, believed to render a service to him. Only because he was in a way answerable for them did this blame attach to his name; such is evidently the meaning of the words of Socrates. Nor must we imagine that Socrates, out of respect for the great bishop of Alexandria, covered the guilt of St. Cyril by attributing the murder to the initiative of some Church people. For apart from the fact that Socrates is an honest and truthful writer,<sup>1</sup> he is in no way found to be tender towards St. Cyril. When he speaks of the honors rendered by the bishop to the memory of the monk Ammonius, executed by the order of Orestes, he disapproves of such an act. And when he says that according to some Christians of Alexandria, Ammonius had only paid for his rashness and had not been forced to deny his faith, such sentiments are evidently his own.<sup>2</sup> So also he lays part of the blame for the murder of Hypatia on St. Cyril, as if the latter had not sufficiently instilled into the hearts of his subjects the sentiments of moderation becoming the followers of Christ.<sup>3</sup> And no reason can be imagined why the historian, who tries to be just and fair to all, should not have stated the fact in so many words, if the matter had been so. If, therefore, a contemporary writer is silent on this subject, on what ground could we condemn the bishop of Alexandria?

The second account of Hypatia's death is found in the biographical sketch of the philosopher inserted in the *Lexicon of Suidas*. Said work, a combination of an etymological dictionary and an encyclopedia, was written about the middle of the tenth century, probably by an ecclesiastic of that name.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wetzer u. Welte, "Kirchenlexicon," Vol. XI (2d ed.), pp. 475, 476.

<sup>2</sup> H. E., VII, chp. 14.

<sup>3</sup> "H. E.," VII, chp. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Krumbacher, "Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur," p. 563.



Two passages in the biography of Hypatia refer to the subject in question. The first one reads thus: "She [Hypatia] was torn to pieces by the Alexandrians, and her body thus insulted was scattered all over the city. This she suffered on account of envy and of the exceeding wisdom principally in matters pertaining to astronomy, from Cyril, as some have it; according to others from the natural audacity and seditiousness of the Alexandrians."<sup>1</sup> Later on in the same article the writer says the following: "It happened one day, that Cyril, the bishop of the opposite sect [of the Christians] passed by the house of Hypatia and saw a great throng of men and horses before the gates, of whom some were approaching, some were departing and some were remaining. Having asked what the multitude was and about what there was the tumult near the house, he heard from those who accompanied him that the philosopher Hypatia was then receiving the greetings and that the house was hers. Having learned this his soul was so pricked that he quickly resolved upon her death, of all deaths the most criminal. For when she was going about, according to her custom, a compact multitude of savage men, veritable monsters, ignoring both the respect for the gods and the vengeance of men, assault and slay the philosopher; and thus they inflicted on their country this very great outrage and dishonor."<sup>2</sup>

The mere reading of the first passage makes it plain that the author of this biography knew of two versions concerning the cause of Hypatia's death. Some writers attributed it to St. Cyril, whilst others believed that it was due to an outbreak on the part of the seditious Alexandrians. When mentioning this second hypothesis the author seems to have had in view the narrative of Socrates, who, in connection with the events that disturbed Alexandria so much in the first years of St. Cyril's episcopate, makes the statement that the inhabitants of said city were very much inclined to rioting;<sup>3</sup> and furthermore the murder of Hypatia—according to him—was committed by a few of the Christian citizens. Hence it is altogether surprising that in the second passage this latter hypothesis is omitted and the first one assumed to represent the true state of things.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Bernhardt, Vol. II, p. 1313.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 1315.

<sup>3</sup> "H. E.," VII, chp. 13.



And in this St. Cyril is described as having decreed the death of the philosopher and as having incited a few fanatics to perpetrate the deed. If we inquire what authority this statement may have, we would be justified in dismissing it summarily, since the author himself of the biography knows of two hypotheses. For the one which exonerates St. Cyril there is the support of a contemporary writer, whilst for the other which accuses him there is after all no proof.

But the second passage admits of a closer examination. It is evident that Suidas, as he himself points out in the first passage, relied on some former writer for his information on Hypatia. There are indications in that article which point more or less distinctly to the source whence it derived. No doubt can be entertained as to the fact that it must be sought in the works of a pagan writer. In the second passage quoted above, St. Cyril is said to have been the bishop of the opposite sect. An expression like this could not have come but from the pen of a pagan philosopher, to whom Christianity was nothing else but a school or a faction bitterly opposed to his own. As to the identity of this philosopher, the scholars maintain it was Damascius, and that most of what is contained in Hypatia's biography by Suidas was found in a life of the philosopher Isidore written by Damascius.<sup>1</sup> The latter, a native of Damascus in Syria, was the last president of the neo-platonic school in Athens from about the year 520. When the Emperor Justinian I. closed the school in 529, Damascius with a few associates emigrated to Persia; but a few years afterwards he was allowed to return. The philosopher Isidore, whose life he wrote, was a native of Alexandria and had been among the predecessors of Damascius in the direction of the school of Athens.<sup>2</sup> A debt of gratitude, no doubt, impelled him to write this biography, since he had been among the pupils of Isidore.<sup>3</sup> An appreciation of this work is found in the "Myriobiblon" or "Bibliotheca" of Photius under the number 181, and large extracts of it are in the same compilation under the number

<sup>1</sup> Henr. Vales. in the edition of Socrates, "H. E." Cf. note 8 to book VII, c. 15. "P. G.," Vol. LXVII, p. 769; Bernhardt in the edition of Suidas, note to p. 1311 of Vol. II; Kopallik, "Cyrillus von Alexandrien," p. 25, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Ueberweg, "History of Philosophy," Vol. I, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> Photius, "Bibliotheca," 181, 242; "P. G.," Vol. CIII, pp. 532, 1252.

242.<sup>1</sup> It appears to be more than likely that the second passage quoted above from Suidas was found originally in the biography of Isidore by Damascius, where so many details relating to other philosophers are found. In fact the name of Isidore is so much coupled with that of Hypatia in the article of Suidas, that the last portion of it speaks only of Isidore, and at the beginning Hypatia is said to have been the wife of Isidore. This singular occurrence can hardly be explained unless we suppose that most of the narrative was taken from Isidore's life, where precisely other philosophers are compared with him. In the extracts given by Photius there is such a comparison between Isidore and Hypatia, where it is said that the former much surpassed the latter, not only as a man naturally excels a woman, but also as a true philosopher is above a geometrician.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps from a hasty reading of this passage it happened that Suidas made of Hypatia the wife of Isidore; the assertion is otherwise unintelligible.

If the second passage in the article of Suidas be of Damascius it is plain that his statement is of no value as compared to the narrative of Socrates. In fact the writer flourished about a hundred years or more after the events which he narrates occurred, and what he says about the authorship of Hypatia's death is not only not confirmed by any contemporary testimony, but rather contradicted by the narrative of Socrates. It will not be difficult to understand how Damascius was led to make such unwarranted assertions. He was the representative of a philosophic school which identified itself with the religion of classical antiquity, and which was therefore more or less openly in opposition with Christianity. Hypatia, the woman philosopher of Alexandria, had lived in the same system of philosophic thought and religion. It was known that she had been slain by the Christians of Alexandria. What was more natural, therefore, than to suppose that Cyril, the bishop of the city, had incited the men to do the bloody work. In this hypothesis the highest representative of Christianity would be found to have been for the suppression of what were considered by the philosophers the greatest intellectual achieve-

<sup>1</sup> "P. G.," *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> "P. G.," Vol. CIII, p. 1285.

ments. The fact that St. Cyril was connected with other disturbances at Alexandria may have lent some coloring to these suspicions. Thoughts like these might easily have arisen in the mind of a man who was in no way friendly towards the Christian religion, which, as Photius says, he often insulted.<sup>1</sup> Even Protestant writers acknowledge without reserve that St. Cyril had no direct part in the murder of Hypatia. Thus the Rev. William Bright, D.D., in Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Biography" holds that there is no evidence for the suspected complicity of St. Cyril in the murder of Hypatia.<sup>2</sup> According to Mr. G. Krueger, in the "Realencyclopædie" of Herzog, it is pure calumny to maintain that St. Cyril gave any orders to that effect.<sup>3</sup>

So much is evident from the foregoing, and this excludes not only a participation of the bishop in the deed itself, but also any advice or command given for the purpose. There remains to be seen whether he deserves any blame indirectly for having encouraged the men under his jurisdiction to the bloody crime by previous actions of his. Apart from the novel "Hypatia" this view is also held by non-Catholic historians. Thus, *e. g.*, the Rev. William Bright in the article on St. Cyril just mentioned says: "The perpetrators had unquestionably derived encouragement from his earlier proceedings. His was the too common case of a man who stirs up a force of passions which frequently outrun his control. The turbulent and furious 'parabolani' and others, who shed Hypatia's blood at the foot of the altar, were but bettering the instruction which had let them loose upon the synagogues."<sup>4</sup> And Mr. G. Krueger in Herzog's "Realencyclopædie" also referred to, states: "It would be difficult indeed to assume that Cyril was in no way connected with the murder of Hypatia. . . . All apologetic endeavors cannot free Cyril from the blame of having contributed at least indirectly to the stirring up of the masses by

<sup>1</sup> "Bibl.," 181; "P. G.," Vol. CIII, p. 529.

<sup>2</sup> "Cyril of Alexandria," Boston (ed. 1877), Vol. I, p. 764.

<sup>3</sup> "Cyrillus von Alexandrien" (3d ed.), Vol. IV, p. 378.

<sup>4</sup> An inferior order of Church officers who fulfilled the duty of hospital attendants and nurses to the sick poor. They became very turbulent in Alexandria; and the writer supposes that they were the Church people spoken of by Soerates. Cf. v. Parabolani in "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities."

<sup>5</sup> Vol. I, p. 764.

his repeated regardless and violent proceeding."<sup>1</sup> Expressions like these are, to say the very least, exaggerated. From the narrative of Socrates given above it is plain that Hypatia was slain, not so much because she was the exponent of a pagan philosophic system, but rather because she was thought to be the cause of the protracted enmity between the prefect and St. Cyril. And for this enmity Orestes was far more to blame than the bishop. It is true that St. Cyril could hardly find any legal justification for his attack on the Jews, their synagogues and their personal property; however, the provocation thereto came from the prefect and the Jews. The former had submitted to torture the Christian grammar teacher Hierax, although he had given no offence to any one; he had only come to the theater to learn about the ordinances of the prefect. And the punishment was administered at the instigation of the Jews. These received a warning from the bishop; and in spite of that they added to the outrage by the treacherous slaughter of many Christians. Was St. Cyril to expect justice from a man who had helped the Jews in afflicting the Christians? Furthermore St. Cyril approached the prefect in view of a reconciliation; but the latter would not listen to any proposals of that kind. So also after having unduly praised the monk Ammonius, he was willing to let the matter drop, when it was shown to him that after all the monks had been in the wrong. And still Orestes remained unchanged in his hostile sentiments against St. Cyril. The strife between the two men, therefore, must largely be laid to the charge of Orestes. It was an unjustified action of his that made it start; and it was his unwillingness to forgive that made it remain. Consequently if some Christians thought that Hypatia was furthering this enmity and if they murdered her on that account, Orestes, more than St. Cyril, stirred them up to do it. Had Orestes accepted the offers of reconciliation, or at least kindly considered the change of attitude on the part of St. Cyril, perhaps the bloody crime might have been averted.

From the foregoing it will not be difficult to know what to say about the statements of the afore-mentioned writers, the Rev. William Bright and Mr. G. Krueger. If St. Cyril "stirred up a force of passions," it was merely because justice

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. IV, p. 378.

was not to be looked for in an officer who had helped the offenders; and "the turbulent parabolani" were not bettering the instruction which had let them loose upon the synagogues, because for whatever fault there had been, Cyril had made reparation. And there is no need of "apologetic endeavors to free St. Cyril from the blame of having contributed at least indirectly to the stirring up of the masses." If the facts and their motives are weighed in the light of contemporary evidence, it will be found that not so much St. Cyril, but rather Orestes, the friend of Hypatia, must be blamed indirectly for the cruel end of the latter.

FRANCIS SCHAEFER.

ST. PAUL'S SEMINARY.

## THE DEPARTMENT STORE.

The department store has become a social problem. The result of complex tendencies in modern life, it is gradually focusing within itself a number of issues which will not be easily met. Economic, moral, social questions; questions of right and of duty cluster in and around these great modern stores, in a way that promises interesting and heated discussion before many years.

The Industrial Commission which recently completed its gigantic investigation of social and industrial conditions in the United States, recognizing the importance of the department store question, devoted considerable attention to it. It may be a service to the cause of education to call attention to the report in question. Before the people at large can deal with the question, some instruction is necessary. It may be helpful to give a résumé of the evidence given before the Commission. The writer's purpose does not go beyond that.<sup>1</sup>

The following notes are but a methodical résumé of the testimony. The report of the Industrial Commission, especially Vols. VII, XIV, XIX, are the chief source of information. Occasionally, when the evidence lacked in completeness or logical sequence, other sources have been used and these are: the state laws of Missouri and Illinois, and the reports of the State Supreme Courts of the same States; the Chicago dailies at the time of the elections to mayorship and to State legislature, for the last ten years; the report of the Commissioner of labor; practical observation of the working of the stores themselves.

Described by the Industrial Commission in its final report as a "consolidation of smaller stores handling different kinds of goods," the department store is, according to its advocates "an aggregation of complete stores for the purpose of economy and convenience." Less favorable witnesses call it a "dis-

<sup>1</sup> A notice of the report, with titles of volumes, may be found among the Book Reviews in this number of the BULLETIN.



tributing trust," whose only object and only result is to increase the profits of the owners.

It would be difficult to give a definition of the department store which would be acceptable both to its friends and its enemies. But this matters little, since all are familiar with some of the great stores, like the Fair in Chicago, the Wanamaker stores in Philadelphia and New York, the Woodward and Lothrop store in Washington, The Jordan Marsh Co., of Boston, and Abraham and Strauss, of Brooklyn. Few, possibly, among the visitors and customers of these stores have a clear idea of their history, their organization, methods, or of the social, economic and ethical questions which they involve.

The department store is a recent product of our civilization. Some have traced it back to the old time cross road country store which kept almost all kinds of articles in all lines of business from confectionery and groceries to clothing and hardware. As towns and cities rose, the general store was gradually given up and business was divided among many stores carrying single lines of goods. The country store differs entirely from the modern department store. It was created by necessity. Distance from the city, difficulty of communication, poverty of the people who could not afford to buy provisions in large quantities, such were the reasons of its existence. The country store did not attempt to provide complete assortments of all kinds of goods, but simply a fair representation of different classes that might satisfy the ordinary needs of country people. These goods were gathered in one small room, and the whole concern was easily managed by one or two persons who occupied their leisure time at some other trade or in farming.

The department store, on the contrary, originated in large cities, where civilization was most intense. The Bon Marché of Paris was the leader, having been opened in 1869. In the early seventies Jordan, Marsh & Co., A. T. Stewart and Marshall Field in this country, followed. The department store owners give as a reason for the change in the methods of conducting retail business, the fall of prices which occurred towards the end of the sixties. The difficulty of securing profits caused the ruin of numberless small retail merchants and at

the same time compelled men who had the ability and the capital, to extend their lines and increase their field of business activity. However, there are deeper and more general reasons for the origin and development of department stores. They are the result of the tendency towards centralization which is so marked in our day. The retail business could not escape this general influence. Capitalists have organized these large retail stores; they are gradually driving the small dealers out of business.

Again there is a strong tendency nowadays to simplify distribution. We are more and more doing away with the intermediate links between producer and consumer. In some instances retail dealers have been entirely displaced by the practice of direct selling by the manufacturers who keep distributing stores or agencies in the cities and the larger towns. It is the system adopted by the Standard Oil Company and the Pittsburg Plate Glass Company. Many manufacturers avail themselves of the department store as the only link between the factory and the consumer, *i. e.*, as their distributing agent. This process eliminates all the intermediaries known as commission men, jobbers, wholesale dealers, and agents of various kinds. The department store may yet be the only point of contact between producer and consumer.

Whatever be the cause of their development, department stores have continually gained ground for the last thirty years. They have increased both in number and in size. This development has been so rapid that it has alarmed small merchants everywhere and has attracted the attention of legislators throughout the country.

A campaign was started against department stores in Chicago during the nineties. Among the declarations of the Democratic Convention held in Chicago July 8, 1895, we find the following: ". . . We sympathize with the retail dealers in their struggles to procure a livelihood and in order to procure the general good of the municipality, we are opposed to the encroachments made upon this line of industry by the gigantic trusts known as the 'department stores' and in addition to the legislation already enacted by democratic assemblies, we pledge ourselves to secure additional legislation or entire obliteration

of such illegal and unjust monopolies" (*Chicago Chronicle*, July 9, 1898). It soon became a factor in the elections both in the City Council and to the State Legislature. In 1899 the Democrats again declared themselves opposed to the department stores. An attempt was made to legislate on the matter; but the Supreme Court of Illinois declared that the methods employed were unconstitutional.

Missouri passed a law in 1899 according to which the department stores are taxed in proportion to the number of departments carried. It also was annulled by the Supreme Court of the State.

Yet the department stores live in spite of all attempts to destroy them: they are even more prosperous than ever, as the figures obtained by the Industrial Commission will show.

No investigation was made by the Industrial Commission concerning the number of department stores in this country. But there is hardly a city or a town of any importance that has not one or several of them.

We can best obtain an idea of the size of these stores by bringing together some of the figures found throughout the report of the Commission.

The Wanamaker store in Philadelphia occupies a block of land fronting 250 feet on Market street and 488 feet on Chestnut street. The floor area is about sixteen acres, and if the warehouses be included, about twenty acres. The pneumatic tubing which carries the money from every part of the house to the cashiers measures about twelve miles. The value of the stock is \$6,000,000; to this may be added the goods which are not in the store, but on seas or in transit, which amount to \$1,000,000. The real estate is worth about \$10,000,000. Sometimes as many as 40,000 people pass through the door in a day. The number of employes is over 5,700.

The Wanamaker store in New York, though only a few years old, is almost as large as the Philadelphia store and it may soon eclipse it. The amount of business is nearly as great: the number of employes is nearly 4,000.

The "Fair" in Chicago, is an immense block of 1,080 feet of frontage, 180 feet high, with a floor space of over  $15\frac{1}{2}$  acres. Eighteen large elevators carry the customers from one floor to another. It employs between 2,000 and 3,000 persons.

Such establishments naturally require thorough organization. A general manager, aided by assistant managers, attends to the general operation of the store. Heads of departments have charge of the different lines of business and are responsible to the general manager for the proper administration of their own departments. Each head of department has under his direction a large number of employes, cash girls, salesmen, saleswomen, wrappers, cashiers, bookkeepers, floor walkers and superintendents, besides a large number who aid in handling and delivering goods.

The work of procuring and renewing the stock in the different departments is confided to special agents who are called buyers. Their duty is to watch closely for classes of goods which sell best and are most satisfactory to customers, and to place orders at the most advantageous terms. They are constantly traveling from store to factory and factory to store. The same system prevails for foreign orders. The buyers study the market in this country, "feel the pulse of the season," as they say, and go to Europe to order special styles of goods which suit popular demand. For instance; a pattern in silks which sold very well last season will not sell next season. Some little change must be introduced, a different weave, a different coloring, a different design. The question is thoroughly investigated by one of the buyers who goes to Lyons and has a sample manufactured. If the product is satisfactory, an order is given. The agents of the store attend to the rest. The goods are not shipped to this country without a thorough examination, by the buyers or other agents, of the quantity and quality of goods purchased.

It is the special duty of other employees to attract trade. There are the advertising agents, whose only occupation is to do the best possible advertising for the firm. They advertise in newspapers and magazines, on roads and streets, in trains, in waiting rooms, and in street cars. They are continually on the watch to discover new ways of attracting the attention of the public. Pictures, caricatures, poetry, music, puzzles, etc., are resorted to by the advertising agents of the different firms who seek to outdo one another in winning the attention of the people.

Some department stores attract much attention by their demonstrators, *i. e.*, employees whose duty is to demonstrate by practical tests the quality of goods which the house has for sale. The demonstrators are always women. They make coffee and tea, bake batter cakes, prepare soup, beef tea, stews, cereal food dishes and offer them to the public.

In these different positions the earnings vary greatly. A cash boy or a cash girl, fourteen or fifteen years old, earns \$2 to \$2.50 a week: as one becomes more efficient, pay is increased. The wages of other employees range from this rate up to the earnings of the general manager which may reach \$50,000 a year as is the case in the "Fair" store in Chicago. Other positions command salaries of \$15,000, \$10,000 and \$5,000 a year. Heads of departments, head bookkeepers, assistant managers, buyers are paid \$5,000.

The hours of work are generally from 8 A. M. to 6 P. M. except perhaps Saturdays, and a week or two before Christmas. Account of the hour of arrival is kept by the timekeepers by means of devices on which each one marks his own time. In the summer Saturday afternoon may be a holiday. Some department stores give every employee, even the mechanics, an annual vacation of two or three weeks with pay.

Promotion is won generally when it is merited. The boy who begins with a few dollars a week, may become, if he prove efficient, a salesman, a bookkeeper, or perhaps head of a department, assistant manager, head bookkeeper, etc. In some of these positions he may command a salary higher than that of many presidents of banks, trusts or insurance companies of the United States.

Mention has already been made of the methods employed by department stores to attract trade. One of the most effective means to which they have recourse is advertising. Not only does the firm advertise through its special agents in order to attract public attention and make a reputation; but each head of department in the store is given a fixed space in the Sunday paper or in some other publication in which he must advertise his department.

One of the most common methods of attracting attention is to offer goods at what is declared to be half or less than half



of their regular value. This is done especially in the line of millinery and clothing. Dress goods said to be worth from 75 cents to \$1 a yard are offered for 25 cents. Such goods may be the remains of some special lines made to meet a special market or a particular season. While the goods were novelties, they commanded fancy prices; now they are sold at their real value. The same is the case with bankrupt goods which a department store may buy far below their value and sell at a remarkably low price.

Sometimes goods are advertised and sold at cost or below cost. Cigars of a particular brand are sold by retail at the wholesale price. Sugar, soap or other well-known articles are offered at less than cost, though only for a day, or an hour in the day, and in small quantities. One of the witnesses who appeared before the Industrial Commission recalls the case of a department store which advertised at 19 cents, rubbers which cost 75 cents. Not all of the applicants however succeeded in securing a pair. There was but one little girl to wait upon the throng of customers. She could never find the right number—after a long search she had to go up stairs. The elevator was slow: when she returned, it took some time again to get change, to send the articles to the wrappers, etc. All of this was done for each customer before another was served. In other cases, stores were not able to supply what was advertised. A twelve-dollar suit is offered for five dollars or six dollars; when the customer appears, the salesman takes his measure and discovers that he has not that size in that quality of goods; but he has other goods a little higher and a great deal better, etc. Another trick which is often used to bring the crowd to the store is to advertise goods one or two cents below a round figure. Announcement is made, of a 99-cent article, or a 49-cent article or a 23-, 19-, 9- or even  $4\frac{1}{2}$ -cent article. Again a department store will buy in advance a year's output of certain exclusive patterns and special qualities of goods which are always in demand. Once in control of this class of goods, it advertises them very extensively. There is no other escape for customers who wish to get the article in question. However these methods of attracting customers are not used by all department stores. Those of the higher class have recourse to more honorable means.



The one-price system has greatly contributed to make the department store popular. The price of the article does not vary with the means, the character of the buyer, or his skill in bargaining, nor with the quantity bought. The salesmen cannot deviate in the least from the price marked on the goods. Changes may be sometimes made in the price of a whole line of goods for the sake of disposing of them; but the change is made independently of any other consideration, and this one price is strictly adhered to. The only exception to this rule is the discount of ten per cent. to ministers and five per cent. or six per cent. to dressmakers and persons who act as purchasing agents for others. Outside of these discounts which are the remnants of a former widespread custom, the prices are the same for everyone and for all quantities. Another innovation which has contributed largely to popularizing the department stores, is the custom of taking back unsatisfactory goods, a custom inaugurated by the first department stores of Philadelphia (Wanamaker) and Chicago, and unheard of before their time. It was almost a revolution in the retail business; it became such a source of success that it was soon adopted by all large retail establishments. No matter for what reason or in what amount, let it be a yard or two of silk, a piece of velvet, the goods returned by the customers are exchanged or the money is returned. The result of this new business rule has been not only a direct increase of confidence on the part of the customer but also a greater care on the part of the salesmen. The salesman knows that the article which he sells to-day, may be returned to-morrow and the value deducted from his sales; for a strict account is kept of every sale which he makes, by the means of the salesbook used by every clerk. These returns therefore count against the standing of the salesmen and even of the heads of departments. Hence it is to the interest of all not to misrepresent goods but to tell the truth about their quality and quantity.

The department store owners try to interest their employees in the business done by the firm. Some of them have established the coöperative system. Not only the manager, or the heads of departments, but the clerks themselves receive a certain percentage on the sales made by them. Or perhaps the extra profit

made during the busy month of December, or a proportion of it is distributed to all the employees. In this way they are all interested in extending as much as possible the volume of business done.

The one-price system, the right to return goods when not satisfactory, the custom on the part of clerks to tell the truth about the goods which they sell, are not only profitable methods for the owners of department stores—these are real advantages to society. In this respect, the development of department stores is in the line of economic progress, and it is to this view that the advocates of the stores appeal in its justification. We may classify under two general heads the benefits which the department stores have rendered to society. They have brought about economy in the cost of production and convenience to the customers.

The expenses in getting the goods from the factory into the hands of the consumers have been greatly reduced by the establishment of large retail stores. First of all, they purchase their goods more cheaply than the ordinary retail stores. As they buy far greater quantities than these latter, they obtain a better price. In fact, the manufacturers often depend so much on them, that the store owners practically make their own terms, forcing the producer to sell at the closest margin. Moreover the credit of the department stores is unquestioned. Most of the time they pay cash, while the small retailer's credit is always more or less questioned. A great percentage of those who enter business (96 per cent. according to one of the witnesses) fail eventually. At any rate few of these retailers are able to pay cash. The department store gets a discount as high as six or seven per cent., which gives it a great advantage over the small store.

A greater material gain has been made by the practical elimination of middle men, as has already been mentioned. In the days of small retail establishments, it was out of the question for the factory to deal directly with the retailer. It could neither bring its goods to the attention of the traders scattered all over the land, nor go to the trouble and expense of making separate shipments to all retailers, nor run the risks of so many sales. Most articles were handled by jobbers and commission

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men. The jobbers bought goods directly from the manufacturer, assuming the risks of sale, but also retaining a large part of the profits. The commission man acted as an agent between producer and jobber or retailer, and he also was to be recompensed by a percentage upon the sales which he effected. The department store owner is able to deal directly with the manufacturer, and the middlemen are practically done away with. The profits of the jobber and commission men are saved. The manufacturer incurs less risk, for the stores are generally safer than the jobbers, and the diminution of risks enables him to deliver his goods at a reasonably small profit.

The elimination of jobbers and middlemen has resulted in a great economy in transportation. Instead of handling the goods three or four times: factory to wholesaler, wholesaler to jobber, jobber to retailer, the goods are now shipped directly from the factory to the department store which sells them.

An economy is realized by the department stores in the distribution of goods to the consumers. The expense of conducting a large store where all classes of articles are kept is undoubtedly far less than the expenses of a proportionate number of small single-line stores.

They economize in space. Thus one hundred departments eight by ten feet, placed on a single floor of a department store will do more business than one hundred small stores in the same lines of trade, scattered all over the city. So the expenses of rent and repairs are reduced to a minimum.

They economize in service. One hundred small stores will require at least one hundred bookkeepers, one hundred cashiers and a proportionate number of clerks. A department store doing the same amount of business will be able to transact it with a far smaller number of employees. Its sections are arranged so as to require constant service of the clerk in charge, while the two or three clerks of a small store may often be unoccupied. In the department store, if business is more active in one section at a certain time or season, help may be easily transferred from another section. This cannot be done in smaller stores.

They economize in salaries. There is a vast number of small services which in ordinary retail stores are done by adult labor-

ers, simply because they do all the work of the store, but which in a large retail establishment are confided to boys and girls.

It cannot be denied that the department store is a source of economy in the expense of production, but the question is: Is this economy an advantage to the consumer or does the department store owner reap the profits which his ability has secured? The representatives of the stores assure us that this reduction of expenses goes entirely to the consumer and that the store owner receives only a very moderate profit; three to six per cent. on the dollar of business done, says one of the witnesses (VII, p. 452). That the consumers themselves are benefited by this economy of production, they prove by the reduction in retail prices during the recent years. Many house-keeping articles manufactured of metal, wood, and wire have been reduced fifty and even eighty per cent. during the last twenty years. American dry goods, woollen, silk and cotton fabrics have also been reduced one half since 1880. Others deny absolutely that the reduction in prices, in the last years, is to be traced in any degree to the development of the department store. They say that it is entirely the result of improved methods in manufacturing and transportation.

However, we may conclude that the department store, absolutely speaking, has brought about an economy in production, waiving the question of the beneficiary of this economy. The other advantage mentioned is the convenience of consumers.

The department store offers great facilities to customers living at a distance from the great business centers. Instead of having to go from one place to another, with the risk of not finding the article which one desires, one goes directly to the department store. A single car fare will bring one to the very door, where one finds everything desired. The stock is constantly renewed. The greatest choice in novelties, in articles of every description is offered, and one can in a few minutes and with the least possible trouble give orders of all kinds. The goods are all delivered at the same time, perhaps before one reaches home. For the customers who live outside the city, in towns or in the country, the large stores have established a mail order department. The outsiders who have no store within their reach and cannot go to the city frequently

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enough, will receive, on demand, catalogues and samples which will enable them to make their purchases by mail or by telephone. Those who live in small towns but cannot find in their home stores the articles which they need, are readily served through the mail. The system is yet in its infancy. It is not received everywhere with favor, as customers are afraid of not being suited. They often prefer, when at all possible, to inspect the goods and to satisfy themselves about the quality before giving orders. Yet the mail order department is making progress. The fact that samples are sent on demand in any amount; that the goods, when received and examined, may be returned if not satisfactory has done away with many objections.

Another advantage which the department stores have brought about is the greater conformity between supply and demand.

Formerly goods were manufactured months and sometimes years in advance. They were shipped to wholesalers, by them to jobbers and finally to the various retail stores. The goods might remain in the storehouses for months before they were in the hands of the consumers. They were often kept from one season to another. Moreover the manufacturers knew very little about the needs of the consumers. All that was possible was to trust to the probable demands of the jobbers who themselves relied on future orders. They would sometimes send agents through the country to see what were the probable demands of the next season. But these agents could not come into close touch with the consumer, as is the case with the buyers in the department stores. Furthermore the circumstances, tastes and styles often changed rapidly, unknown to the manufacturers, and thus supply might not correspond to the demand.

At present, the manufacturer is in almost direct touch with the people through the department stores. The quantity of goods needed for a season can be estimated with a great accuracy by the managers of the store. This estimate is furnished to the manufacturers who guide themselves by it. This allows them to work more regularly. The manufacturer, knowing what the normal demand will be, need not be afraid of unex-



pected demands, followed by dull times. He knows what force of men he can employ regularly without being forced to shut down his mills during certain months of the year. The quality and the style of goods are also thus determined. The salesmen are always on the alert to find out what people desire. If it is a style not in stock, or even not manufactured, they note it very carefully, and the fact is called to the attention of the heads of the department. If demands of this kind become rather frequent an order is immediately sent to the factory for the article in question.

Or it may happen that a lot of goods is not satisfactory. This may be found out only when they are in the hands of the consumers. The articles are returned from the consumers to the store and from the store to the manufacturer—a course which was altogether impossible when goods were handled by several middlemen before they came into the hands of the consumers.

Sometimes the department store will furnish the manufacturers the rough material for the production of a certain article. For instance, in the matter of shoes, the proprietors of the store will buy their own leather, and then bargain with a factory for the manufacture of 5,000 or 10,000 pairs of shoes out of the material. In this way the store knows exactly what quality of goods it sells and it avoids the trouble caused by dissatisfaction and return of articles. This method of large retailers of imposing on manufacturers their own terms instead of simply buying what is offered for sale, as it was done formerly, has greatly contributed to the establishment of more conformity between supply and demand. It is an important step taken towards the perfect control of production by consumption, which is the ideal of the economic order.

However a different view of the department stores is taken by the small retailers and other opponents. Without denying certain advantages of the modern great retail store, as to economy and convenience, they call attention to various evil effects which threaten the social order.

According to the evidence given by small retail dealers, the department store is a trust, and one of the worst in existence. Its aim is to destroy competition, by concentrating business in

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a few hands, by crowding out the small dealers, and creating a monopoly in the retail business. The first step is to attract the crowd by the methods already mentioned. They take a certain line of popular goods of a well known quality and style. They advertise it and sell it at actual cost, if not below cost. The retail dealers, unable to secure the discount offered to cash purchasers, unable to order large quantities, unable to compensate in some other line of goods, cannot compete at these prices. The crowd will naturally flock to the large stores and desert the smaller ones. They will not only buy the article advertised, but will do all their shopping while in the store, and nothing is left for the small retailer but to close his doors and give up his independent business. His chief hope is to solicit employment in the very stores which have caused his ruin.

This evil influence of department stores on small dealers is felt even in the small localities at a distance from the cities. The mail order system extends their activity in all directions. Then excursions are organized by the managers of these stores to attract people living in small towns or villages.

In this way the retail business is more and more concentrated in the hands of a few great stores. Competition is gradually destroyed. A practical monopoly results and the proprietors of the stores never fail to take advantage of it.

A retail merchant, in Chicago, testifying before the Industrial Commission, recalls the fact that the owner of a department store died two years ago leaving an estate of \$15,000,000. He had been in business some seventeen years. Five years were required to place the business on a paying basis. During eight years the proprietor had a partner who drew one third of the profits. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the profits of that establishment were at least \$1,500,000 a year. Now a million and a half a year would give an annual income of \$1,500 to 1,000 small store-keepers, each of whom could maintain a household and rear a family in comfort.

The representatives of the department stores naturally answer that this number of store-keepers has not been thrown out of work by the department store. They have found in the large stores employment as remunerative as their first position. In fact they say, the whole class of laborers has been

benefited by department stores. In furthering economy of production and convenience to customers, they have stimulated consumption and therefore necessitated a larger force of laboring men, both in the manufacture and in the distribution of goods. Not only have the department stores created employment for a greater number than were formerly employed in small concerns, but they have raised the wages and reduced the hours of work. They have done still more; they have raised the standard of labor. An employee in a large store may easily hold a more important position than if conducting his own store, and far from losing his individuality and personal dignity, he soon comes to identify himself with the interest of the establishment and to take pride in its success.

Retail dealers deny every one of these statements. That some laborers have been benefited by the change in retail business, is admitted by all—but it is an exception not the rule. They deny that the development of the department store has brought about a reduction of prices. It sells some goods—certain classes of popular goods—more cheaply than small retailers, but this is only a business trick. They sell other goods as high and often higher than other dealers so that on the whole, the average prices in department stores are not lower than those of the small stores.

There are no statistics at hand to show to what extent men have been thrown out of work by the development of the department stores. The publisher of the *Chicago Retailer's Journal* (VII, 705), assured the Industrial Commission that at a given time there were as many as 6,800 empty stores in Chicago, and he affirms that at the time of the investigation by the Commission (March, 1900) there were on an average five empty stores in every block on Lake and Madison streets.

It is not easy to show that the owners and clerks in all these places have found employment in the department stores. All admit that the new method in retail business has brought about economy in labor. It certainly takes less clerks, cashiers, bookkeepers to operate a store on the united plan than it did formerly to run five hundred or one thousand small stores doing the same total amount of business.

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retail stores, men have been largely replaced by women and children who receive only a small part of the wages which were paid to men. In the States in which there is a compulsory educational law, the difficulty is skillfully overcome. The stores have a little school of their own on one of the top floors and the children go there an hour or two each day in the morning when their services are not needed.

"These children," as one of the witnesses bitterly expressed it (VII, 724), "taken into these seething caldrons of Mammon at tender years are defrauded of their natural heritage of youth, growth and health to a large extent, defrauded of their happy days of childhood, and become the dwarfed and prematurely aged men and women of the future. Who can estimate the injury thus inflicted on society? The slight regard evinced for parental authority by so many children to-day is traceable to the same source. Because they can earn a few dollars a week at some of these stores, they consider themselves self-supporting and are correspondingly independent of authority."

The immoral life of a number of girls working in these stores has often been attributed to their low wages. The three or four dollars which they receive every week are not sufficient to procure for them an honest and comfortable living. Perhaps also are they a little extravagant in the matter of dress. It is thought very generally that recourse to an evil life might be one result of this condition if the facts alleged be true.

The question was put (VII, 701) by a member of the Industrial Commission to the manager of one department store, whether he would employ a girl who was alone in the world and who depended entirely on her own earnings. The answer was "No. She had better go into service somewhere where she could earn more money." This avowal, which is tantamount to saying that a large percentage of girls working in a department store do not get living wages, points to terrible consequences. Such wages not only mean a general lowering of salary, and of the standard of life; for these girls who are not otherwise supported and cannot find employment elsewhere, it means misery, or may mean sin; there seems to be no other alternative.

Not only have children and women been wronged by the introduction of department stores, it is further said, but the men themselves who have found employment in these stores have been deprived of their own individuality. No initiative is left to them. They have only to sell the goods at the prices and conditions determined by the head of the department. There is no liberty left to the employee; he is completely in the hands of his employer, who can discharge him at any moment for any reason, or cut down his wages at will.

To these evils, various remedies have been proposed. The question is a difficult one. Laws have already been enacted by the different states to obviate the abuses of the department stores; for instance laws against fraudulent advertising, misrepresentation of goods, hours of labor, restriction of employment of children under a certain age, requirement of sufficient time for lunch and rest, provisions of seats for women. Some of these laws have failed, others have had a partial success.

Legislation has also been attempted which aimed not only at the repression of abuses but at the partial or total destruction of the department stores. Among the measures advocated, is the law proposed by the Illinois Legislature in 1897. According to this law, all goods and salable articles were divided into seventy-four groups. A store owner or a corporation could not extend its business to more than one group of articles.

The City Council of Chicago, in the same year was somewhat more lenient. It was proposed to group the goods into thirty-eight categories. There remained perfect liberty for any individual or corporation to take over several lines of goods; but a tax was imposed which increased in geometrical ratio with each new group of articles.

The annual tax for one group of goods would have been \$20.00; for two groups of goods, \$40.00; for three groups of goods, \$80.00; for four groups of goods, \$160.00, etc.

The Supreme Court of Illinois declared such action unconstitutional. The Missouri Legislature (Mo. 99, p. 7,200) made another attempt to tax department stores. This was in 1899. The law passed in March of that year. This act classified merchandise in seventy-three classes, which were again arranged into twenty-eight groups, each group containing two, three,

four or even more classes. It prohibited the sale of more than one group in cities of 50,000 except on a \$300 and \$500 license for each additional group or class. However establishments employing not more than fifteen persons were exempt.

But this law did not fare better than the Illinois laws. The Supreme Court of Missouri declared it unconstitutional, for it says "taxes must be uniform; the legislature shall not tax for city purposes nor deprive of liberty without due process of law" (State vs. Ashborn, 55 S. W. 627).

But even supposing that it was possible to tax the department stores in proportion to the number of classes of articles kept, would such taxation be wise? Many a tax has been aimed at the producers, at the corporations, at the trusts and combinations, which have fallen, not on the men for whom they were intended, but on the consumers or the wage earners. Is there not such a danger in the department stores? This is a problem which probably experience alone can solve.

We have in this résumé, a fairly complete view of the department store. It will be seen at once that many vital problems of social life are touched; that conflicts of interests for which society has no remedy, appear. There is danger of hasty condemnation as well as of injustice against these gigantic enterprises. On the other hand, they do threaten the supposed rights of a large number of persons.

We must educate ourselves to a thorough understanding of the situation before we act. It would be well therefore for the public to acquaint itself thoroughly with the methods, purposes rights, abuses and dangers of the great stores, in advance of any popular agitation against them. The Industrial Commission has rendered a real service to society in having given so much attention to the department stores. To have collected the information is itself a service. Once the public understands, we may hope for action which will safeguard the interests of society without detriment to true progress.

LEO L. DUBOIS.



## THE MONKS OF RABBAN HORMIZD.

The private library of Dr. Hyvernât, professor of Semitic and Egyptian languages at the Catholic University, contains, besides some 6,750 volumes on Oriental languages and literatures, a good number of Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, Persian, Turkish and Armenian manuscripts. These manuscripts afford excellent opportunities for personal research, for the student will find in many of them important documents still unpublished. It was from one of the Syriac manuscripts (No. VIII) that Dr. S. Carr edited and translated the treatise of Thomas of Edessa on the Nativity of Our Lord.<sup>1</sup> Other documents, no less interesting and important than the one published by Dr. Carr, exist in Dr. Hyvernât's collection and are still waiting for some enterprising editor to give them to the public.

It is the purpose of the present study to give a complete description of the Syriac Ms. No. XII of this collection, together with a detailed analysis of the second part, viz: The History of the Chaldean Community of the Monks of Rabban Hormizd near Mossul from the year 1808 to the year 1866.

### I.

This Ms. No. XII is a transcript of another Ms. in the possession of the monks of Rabban Hormizd, near Mossul. It was made in 1889 for the use of Dr. Hyvernât who was a visitor there. It consists of 63 folios of strong Oriental paper which, considering its thickness, is extremely light, for the Ms. with its board and leather binding weighs only 20½ ounces. The script is that of the modern Nestorian Syriac character, and the words are furnished with vowel points. The folios measure 21.7 by 15.3 centimeters and have 22 lines to a page. They are numbered thus: I-II, 1-58, III-V. Originally, folios 1-58 had only the Syriac pagination; the Arabic numbering has been added for the sake of convenience. Folios, I, II, IV, and V, are blank. On folio III verso, there is a note in Italian informing the reader that the cost of the copying of the

<sup>1</sup> *Thomæ Edesseni Tractatus de Nativitate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi textum Syriacum edidit, notis illustravit, latine reddidit Simon Joseph Carr, Romæ, 1898.*



Ms. was 44 piasters (2 dollars and 20 cents). This shows us that the task of transcribing manuscripts is, for the monks of Rabban Hormizd, as it was for the monks of the Middle Ages, a labor of love, and not a question of money. Folio 1 recto contains the following note: "Storia degli Institutori dei Monasteri con breve aggiunta di storia della congregazione attuale dei religiosi caldei cattolici che vivono nel monastero di Rabban Hormizd."

As we learn from this note, the Ms. consists of two distinct parts. The first part (folios 1 v.-44 r.) is the history of the founders of monasteries by Jesusdenah, bishop of Bassorah in the latter half of the eighth century. This work, better known as "The Book of Chastity,"<sup>1</sup> was published by J. B. Chabot under the title: "Le Livre de la Chasteté composé par Jésusdenah, évêque de Baḡrah, publié et traduit par J. B. Chabot, Rome, 1896." The text edited by Chabot is that of a copy made in 1890 from an ancient Ms. in the library of the Convent of Seert in Armenia. The text of our Ms. is also derived from the Seert original through another copy in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd. The "Book of Chastity" contains 140 biographical notices on the founders of monasteries in the East. Its complete title is: "By the power of Our Lord Jesus Christ, we begin to write the abridged history of all the Fathers who founded convents in the Kingdom of the Persians or of the Arabs, of all the Fathers who wrote books on monasticism, of some holy metropolitans and bishops who founded schools, or wrote on monastic life, or established convents in the East, and of some virtuous lay people, men and women, who founded schools or monasteries—(history) written by the friend of God, Mār Jesusdenah, metropolitan of Perath-Maisan, which is Baḡrah. May our Lord help us by their prayers! Amen."

The text in our Ms. does not differ materially from the one edited by Chabot. There are, indeed, a few unimportant variant readings, as we might expect from two manuscripts based on the same original. We may notice, however, a lacuna existing in Dr. Chabot's text, which lacuna is not found in our

<sup>1</sup> Such is the name given to it by Ebedjesu in his Catalogue. See Assemani, *B. O.*, t. III, 1a, p. 196.



## II.

We now come to the second part of our manuscript (folios 45 r.-58 v.), which contains the history of the Chaldean Community of Rabban Hormizd from the year 1808 to the year 1866. It is the work of Abbot Samuel Djamil, formerly superior general of the monks of Rabban Hormizd. It is written in ancient Syriac, and it compares favorably for elegance of style with the works of the classic Syriac authors. This document yet unpublished forms an interesting page in the history of the Chaldean Church in the nineteenth century. Its complete title (folio 45 r.) is: The History of our Catholic Chaldean Community written and abridged by Abbot Samuel Djamil, the venerable Superior General, (history extending) from the year 1808 of Our Lord, in which the Community was founded by our Father the pious Gabriel Denbou, to the year 1866 in which an end was put to the claims often moved by the family of Mār Johannan Hormizd<sup>1</sup> to take from the brethren the mills and the fields which are truly the property of our Convent of Rabban Hormizd the Persian."

Owing to the limited space at our disposal, we can give only a detailed analysis of this interesting document.

Our Convent of Rabban Hormizd, situated on a mountain<sup>2</sup> east of Alqosch, was founded in the seventh century by Rabban Hormizd<sup>3</sup> a disciple of Bar Idta.<sup>4</sup> The temporalities of the Convent included mills upon the river of the village of Beth Hindwaye, fields at the foot of the mountains, vineyards, fruit

Fol. 45r

<sup>1</sup> Mār Johannan Hormizd, also known by the names of Mutran Hanna and Mār Elia, was the last descendant of the Nestorian patriarchal series of the Eliases. He became a Catholic in 1779. When Mār Josef V, the last representative of the Catholic series of patriarchs died in 1828, Mār Johannan became the sole patriarch in Chaldea. He died in 1841 and, after his death, the patriarchal succession ceased to be hereditary. His family laid claim to the dependencies which belonged by right to the Convent of Rabban Hormizd. The present narrative is nothing more than an account of the attempts made by the men of Mār Johannan to take possession of those dependencies. For further information concerning Mār Johannan see Badger, "The Nestorians and their Rituals," Vol. I, pp. 160-167.

<sup>2</sup> There are now two convents belonging to the monks of Rabban Hormizd:—the ancient convent which is the one spoken of here, and the new convent, or the Convent of the Virgin. According to the mode of computing distances in the Orient, the Convent of the Virgin is 45 minutes east of Alqosch, and the old convent 35 minutes farther. For a description and a phototype of both convents see Müller-Simonis, and Hyvernat, "Du Caucase au Golfe Persique," Washington, 1892, p. 416.

<sup>3</sup> Chabot, "Le Livre de la Chasteté," p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem.

trees and olive trees in the village of Samkan and in the diocese of Zako.<sup>1</sup>

- 45v. The Convent having been abandoned, the families of Mār Johannan and Mār Hnanjesu took charge of the property. They appointed overseers to look after it and to receive the offerings brought by the faithful. The overseers became proud, and began to administer things as they pleased. Shortly after the establishment of the Catholic faith in Mossul by missionaries sent from Rome, Gabriel Denbou, a subdeacon, unmarried and virtuous, came from Mardin to Mossul, and resolved to become a monk and to found a new Community.
- 46r. He enquired from the Christians in Mossul where he could find a monastery in which to carry out his purpose. They pointed out three convents to him: that of Mār Georghis, that of Mār Abraham, and that of Rabban Hormizd. These three convents were under the jurisdiction of Mār Johannan and of Hnanjesu, the metropolitan of Umadia. The Christians advised Gabriel to ask for the Convent of Rabban Hormizd which was the best of the three. Gabriel went to Mār Johannan and
- 46v. asked him for this Convent. Mār Johannan refused, but told him that he might have either of the other two. Gabriel, however, anxious to secure the Convent of Rabban Hormizd, went to Mossul, and made known his plans to the Dominican Fathers. These Fathers were held in high esteem by the governor of Mossul who was dissatisfied with Mār Johannan. They told Mār Johannan that, if he gave the Convent of Rabban Hormizd to Gabriel, they would reconcile the governor with him.
- 47r. Mār Johannan agreed, but, after he was reconciled with the governor, he broke his promise. Gabriel returned to Alqosh and made known his purpose to the priest Georghis, to Hormiz Gawro, and other pious men. They encouraged him and told him they would apply to Hnanjesu for the Convent, because it was in his diocese. They promised Hnanjesu that, if he gave the Convent of Rabban Hormizd to Gabriel, they would separate from Mār Johannan and join his own diocese. Hnanjesu replied:
- 47v. "The Convent belongs to me and I may give it to you, but Gabriel will not be able to dwell in it for fear of the Mezour-

On the river Khabhour, a tributary of the Tigris. For the exact site of the different places mentioned in this document, see Kiepert, *Nouvelle Carte générale des Provinces Asiatiques de l'Empire Ottoman*, Berlin (Reimer), 1884.

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naye Kurds who are evil men." Hormiz Gawro offered to be caution that the Kurds would not molest Gabriel. On this condition, Hnanjesu turned the Convent over to Gabriel, and gave him a written document signed with his own hand. Gabriel, accompanied by the priest Georghis, Hormiz Gawro and the Christians of Alqosh, took formal possession of the Convent of Rabban Hormizd on Palm Sunday, the 20th of Adar (March), 1808.

The first companions of Gabriel were Hormiz Dawidaya, a convert from Nestorianism, and Jesu Kasko of Alqosch. The new community increased little by little. The Dominican Fathers of Mossul, hearing that Gabriel had come into possession of Rabban Hormizd, rejoiced greatly; they went to Zebar Pacha, governor of Umadia, and asked him to turn over to Gabriel the dependencies of the Convent, which were then in the hands of the family of Mār Johannan. The governor, acknowledging the justice of the claim, transferred these temporalities to Gabriel and gave him a legal document to that effect. For fear of Mār Johannan, Gabriel kept the document secret. When Mār Johannan heard that Mār Hnanjesu had given the Convent of Rabban Hormizd to Gabriel, he was angry with him, and rebuked him severely for having done so without permission. He told him that the time would soon come when they would also take the temporalities of the Convent from them. He commanded Hnanjesu to eject the monks from the Convent. 48r.

Mār Hnanjesu twice sent messengers to tell Gabriel and his companions to vacate the Convent. The monks refused to go and showed the messengers the document signed by Hnanjesu, telling them that only force could drive them out. Finally the men of Mār Johannan and the men of Mār Hnanjesu took counsel together and resolved to expel the monks by any means at their disposal. They went to the Convent and urged the monks to leave, but Gabriel and his companions refused, and told them they had not entered the Convent of their own authority, but with the permission of Hnanjesu. The enemies of the monks returned to Alqosch, where they again took counsel together. Hnanjesu went to Umadia where he embraced Nestorianism. He brought back with him some of the soldiers of Hekouma, 48v.



and with their help and the assistance of Mār Johannan, he drove the monks from the Convent, and took everything they possessed. The persecutors inflicted severe wounds on the monks, and held Gabriel prisoner for many days in the house of Bouraq of Alqosh.

- 50r. After Gabriel was released, the brethren gathered together in the Church of Mār Mica in Alqosh. They spent their time instructing the youth of the village. In 1811, Gabriel was ordained priest. Mār Hnanjesu, whilst visiting the village of Malasana in his diocese, fell seriously ill and was near unto death. He became sorry for having expelled the monks, and, calling his brother David and his servant Dangela of Telkef, he said to them: "I am dying and I am afraid of the judgment of the Most High God, because I have oppressed the monks, and have driven them from the Convent. This is my last command and testament that, when you return to Alqosh, you will deliver the keys of the Convent to the monks." This said, he died without the help of a priest, and he was buried in Alqosh during the night. David made known to his brother Daniel the last command of Hnanjesu, but Daniel refused to give the keys of the Convent to the monks. Shortly afterwards, Daniel's wife gave birth to a son. Her son being near unto death, she said to her husband: "God has punished Hnanjesu for expelling the monks from the Convent, and now He is causing my son to die because we have not given the keys of the Convent to the monks. Therefore, either deliver the keys to the monks or I will not stay in the house with you." Thereupon, Daniel, her husband, sent for Hanna Goze, a friend of the monks, and gave him the keys. After this, the child got well. Gabriel and his companions returned to the Convent in 1812. The community, which numbered monks, deacons and priests, increased little by little, and the brethren went about the towns and villages teaching and preaching.

- 51v. The families of Mār Johannan and of Mār Hnanjesu, which had been at enmity for a long time, became friendly after the monks took possession of the Convent. Afraid that the monks would take from them the temporalities attached to the Convent, those two families stirred up persecutions against the community of Rabban Hormizd. In 1813, they sought to in-

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stigate Hacha Pacha, governor of Mossul, against the monks. The governor sent his son to the Convent to investigate the facts. Having received a most favorable report, the governor refused to harm the monks in any way. Then the men of Mār Johannan pressed Ionos Gazi, chief of the Mezournaye Kurds, to persecute the monks, but the chief refused to harm good men engaged in the service of God. In 1820, they preferred charges against the monks before Murad Pacha, governor of Umadia. But the men of Alqosch spoke in favor of the monks; the governor despised the charges and sent his son to the Convent to assure the monks of his good will. In 1828, Mousa Pacha, governor of Umadia being in Alqosch, the men of Mār Johannan sought his help, and offered him as a bribe all that the Convent and the church possessed, if he would expel the monks from Rabban Hormizd. He agreed and sent soldiers against the Convent. They seized Hanna Gora, the general prefect of the Convent, and Joiakim Shandel the procurator, and cast them into prison at Alqosch. They took everything which they found in the Convent and in the church: gold, silver, wheat, barley, oil, rice, grapes, honey, linen, vestments, books and manuscripts. Hanna Gora and Joiakim Shandel were kept in prison for six months, and were finally released upon payment of a large sum of money. 52r. 53r.

After this persecution, the brethren lived in Alqosch for a year. Gabriel returned from Rome in 1832. About that time, charges having been laid against the Alqoschites, Mirekor, Pacha of Rawandos, came to attack the village. The people and the monks fled for fear, but the soldiers pursued them, killed many of them, and robbed the others. 53v.

When Abdallah, the leader of the soldiers, heard that those who had been killed were Christians who paid taxes to the government, he ordered the massacre to be stopped. The brethren, who had escaped, returned to look for the bodies of Gabriel, of Father Augustin of Telkef, of Johannan bar Sabnya, and Jesu Kasko who had been killed. They found only the body of Gabriel. They buried it with great honor in the Church of Mār Mica, where it rested until 1849. On the 21st of Tamuz (July), of that year, they brought the bones of Gabriel from Alqosch and the bones of Hanna Gora and of Moses who had 54r.

- 54v. died in prison in Umadia, and buried them in a common grave in the Convent of Rabban Hormizd.

Three years after this persecution, in 1835, Mār Johannan, the priest Patros, Elia, Shalia, Markos, Abarha, and Mutran Elia, bribed Rasul Bey, governor of Umadia; they cast into prison Mar Josef Audo, metropolitan of Umadia, and three of the monks, namely, Joiakim Shandel, Dominos Gundira and Rokos Kancharkan. The Convent was plundered a second time; and the brethren, in order to release Mār Josef Audo and

- 55r. the monks held prisoners in Umadia, were forced to sell some convent property such as books, clothes, and furniture, until they had raised the sum of 14,625 piasters (about 732 dollars) which was given to the Pacha. The men of Mār Johannan continued to molest the monks and the Christians of Alqosch who were friendly to the community. In 1842, they united with Ismail Pacha who had rebelled against the government. This cruel man plundered the village of Alqosch and the Convent
- 55v. of Rabban Hormizd. Among the property taken from the monks, the author mentions sheep, cows, heifers, clothes, furniture, carpets, church vestments, chalices, patens, and a large number of Chaldean, Arabic and Latin books.

- 56r. Fifteen of the monks, with Hanna Gora, the superior, were kept prisoners in Umadia for five months. Two of them died from the wounds inflicted upon them. When Mohammed, Pacha of Mossul, captured Umadia from Ismail, the prisoners were set free and they returned to the Convent. Four died shortly after. All these persecutions were stirred up by the family of Mār Johannan.

- 56v. In the same year (1842), some prominent men of Alqosch came to Mossul and laid charges before the Pacha against the family of Mār Johannan. They said that the men of Mār Johannan had brought Ismail to Alqosch, that they were responsible for the plundering of the village and the Convent, and that they were the cause of the death of two of the monks in the prison of Umadia. The crafty Pacha issued an order that the men of Mār Johannan should be expelled from the village, and that all their property should be sold, and the price thereof given to the Convent and the Church of Alqosch.

- 57r. When they came to sell the fields and the mills of the Con-

vent, the monks, upon the advice of Botta, the French Consul, and of the Dominican Fathers, objected, for they claimed that the fields and the mills were the property of the Convent, and not of Mār Johannan. The monks brought their claim before the judge and the governor of Mossul; the men of Alqosch testified that the mills and the fields were truly the property of the Convent, and that the men of Mār Johannan had appropriated the income thereof unjustly.

Upon the request of the French Consul, the Pacha gave a decision in favor of the monks, and drew up a legal document signed by the judge and the members of the court to the effect that the mills and the fields belonged to the Convent of Rabban Hormizd. The monks had to pay 1,546 piasters as their part of the total costs which amounted to 2,000 piasters. From this day forth, they were able to enjoy the property in peace and security. 57v.

In 1865 some evil men advised the family of Mār Johannan to lay claim to the mills and the fields. They appealed to the judge at Mossul, who denied their request. One of them, Jacob Marughin by name, brought the case before the governor of Babylon, who refused to hear it; from there he appealed to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, from whom he could not get a hearing. Finally he went to Constantinople, and through Hacha Pacha, a former governor of Mossul, obtained papers from the tribunal. He sent the papers to his men in Mossul, instructing them to proceed against the monks; but the latter appealed to the Sublime Porte. Abbot Elisha Elias, the Superior General of the community, came to Constantinople in 1866, and, with the assistance of Patriarch Hassun, Catholicos of Armenia, obtained an imperial decree stating that the mills and the fields in question were truly the property of the Convent of Rabban Hormizd. After Elias returned to Alqosch, Jacob Marughin remained his enemy for a long time, and often tried to reopen the case. Finally Jacob repented for what he had done, for he had been compelled by law to reimburse the monks for the expenses incurred in the litigation. In presence of trustworthy witnesses, he wrote and signed a document to the effect that neither he nor any member of his family would ever lay claim to the said property. The monks, 58r.

58v.

on the other hand, gave him a legal document stating that they would not ask for their expenses in connection with the case. Since then the monks have enjoyed the said property in all freedom and security.

End of the history of the Community of Rabban Hormizd.

ARTHUR ADOLPHE VASCHALDE.

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## DUVAL'S EDITION OF BAR-BAHLÛL.<sup>1</sup>

The readers of the *BULLETIN* are sufficiently acquainted with the nature and importance of Bar-Bahlûl's work and with the various "codices" containing that precious lexicographic compilation;<sup>2</sup> we hope this will help them to follow with more interest the review we now undertake of Professor Duval's superb edition. However, before we enter upon our immediate subject it will be well to retrace briefly the part played by Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon in the history of Oriental scholarship in Europe. This will be, after all, the best way to illustrate the merits of the epoch-making publication of the celebrated professor of the "Collège de France."

Both Erpenius and Golius, the first European Orientalists who came into possession of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon, died without any attempt at editing this treasure. As eminent Orientalists and lexicographers, they cannot have failed to realize the importance of such a work and the great profit that its publication would be to Oriental studies. It is very likely, however, that they understood also the endless difficulties of an enterprise to which the resources of their time were not equal. Wise men are patient.

Nevertheless, early Syriac scholars were often impatient; such at least was the case with some of the lexicographers, and their kind has perpetuated itself even unto our days. Naturally, the first Syriac dictionaries were compiled from the Syriac translations of the New Testament. With very few other specimens of Syriac literature, these transla-

<sup>1</sup> "Lexicon Syriacum," auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule, voces syriacas græcasque cum glossis syriacis et arabicis complectens, e pluribus codicibus edidit et notulis instruxit RUBENS DUVAL. 3 vols. in 4°. Paris: Leroux (Imprimerie Nationale), 1888-1901.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *BULLETIN*, January, 1902, p. 58, An ancient Syriac lexicographer. With regard to this article we beg the reader to correct a few passages as follows: p. 60, l. 1, + 1218, read + 1318; p. 62, l. 28, *περι της* read *περι της* l. 37, *Ishâq*, read *Ishâq*; p. 63, l. 7, *i. e.*, the *Lame*, read "the *Lame*"; p. 64, l. 7, *διαλαψμα* read *διαφαλμα*; p. 65, l. 3, *Gabriel*, read *Antonius*; l. 7, *Lord Huntington*, read *Robert Huntington*; l. 34, *Diarkekir*, read *Diarbekir*; p. 71, l. 5, *ιλη* and p. 73, l. 28, *δλη* read *ιλη*.

tions were all that the early Syriologists had to draw from. Such were, for instance, the "Peculium Syrorum" of Masius, published in the Polyglot of Antwerp (1571), the Lexicons of Crinesius (1612), of Trost (1623), and many others. But this process especially when applied to original Syriac literature, was too slow for the growing interest of scholars. As early as 1636 a Catholic missionary and Orientalist, Thomas a Novaria (Thomas Obicini) published a new Lexicon based on the first Syrian Lexicon that was brought to Europe, the *Book of the Interpreter* of Elias of Nisibis.<sup>1</sup> And thirty-three years later Edm. Castell, better known as Castellus, utilized the Lexicon of Bar-Bahlûl for the Syriac portion of his Heptaglot-Lexicon published as an appendix to Walton's Polyglot (1669). He used for this purpose the Codex of Erpenius, the first copy of Bar-Bahlûl's work that had found its way to a European collection. It was already in the possession of the University of Cambridge. J. D. Michaelis, who published in 1788 a second edition of the work of Castellus, inserted therein quite a number of glosses borrowed from the dictionary of Bar-Ali, of which there is a copy in the University of Göttingen made from a MS. of Leyden. The result, in all these instances, was rather disappointing, particularly in the case of glosses borrowed from Bar-Bahlûl's work. In many of these, words appear so disfigured by the errors of amanuenses that they can be of no use at all; in other cases glosses are so shortened as to render them obscure and misleading; for instance on page 9 we read:

"ܐܝܢܐܬܐ, Ἀγῖρατος, Senii expers.-B.-B."

We might conclude that according to Bar-Bahlûl the word ܐܝܢܐܬܐ means simply "ever young." Now the gloss is as follows:

"ܐܝܢܐܬܐ Gabriel ibn Bokht-Jesu said: a stone called aghiratos, that is nagmi, and he says from Galenus that it means: the stone that does not get old."

Whence it may be safely concluded that the word of Bar-Bahlûl had in view is the name of a certain stone.<sup>2</sup> Again

<sup>1</sup> "Thesaurus Arabico-Syrus." This publication is so full of mistakes as to make it absolutely worthless. The work has been published again by P. de Lagarde in his "Prætermissorum Libri duo."

<sup>2</sup> Probably the copperas, which shoemakers used to polish women's shoes.



on page 215 we find the word ܕܥܝܬܐ occurring in Dan, I, 9, thus explained:

"ܕܥܝܬܐ quasi dicas ܕܥܝܬܐ quod vobis accidit.—B.-B." Now Bar-Bahlûl does not say any such thing, but, as follows:

"ܕܥܝܬܐ Your share, that comes to you; i. e., *that one thing* that comes to you. According to Mar Eliah ܕܥܝܬܐ means the *decree* that concerns you."

This last rendering is as good as can be expected, the first two are not quite as accurate, although sufficiently fair. Castellus had only the "embarras du choix"; unfortunately he selected only the explicative portion of the renderings and propped it upon a false etymology, for which the Syrian lexicographer is certainly not responsible.<sup>1</sup>

This ought to have sufficed to warn the lexicographers of the difficulties that attended the method inaugurated by Thomas a Novaria and Castellus. But, as we have seen, none of the great centers of Syriac studies had, then, a copy of Bar-Bahlûl's work and consequently nobody there realized how radically defective the method was. Quatremère himself, who had composed a large Syriac Dictionary compiled from the collections of Syriac manuscripts of Paris and Rome, had intended to complete his work from the Lexicons of Bar-Ali and Bar-Bahlûl. Only, having observed that most of the glosses borrowed by Castellus from Bar-Bahlûl were nothing but defaced Greek words he had decided to omit all such words unless actually occurring in the Syriac literature. It was not given to Quatremère to publish his dictionary, but it is probable that if he had lived to get acquainted with the nature of the two Syrian Lexicons he would have either given up the idea of utilizing them, or would have been obliged to postpone indefinitely his publication, until he himself, or somebody else had successfully undertaken to sift the immense material accumulated in their thousands of columns.

Gesenius was the first to describe somewhat accurately the nature and contents of Bar-Ali's and Bar-Bahlûl's great compilations, in his "De Bar-Alio et Bar-Bahlulo Lexicographis Syro-Arabicis," Sacra Pentecostolia, Halle 1834 and 1839. I

<sup>1</sup> We must be pardoned for entering into such details; we deemed it necessary to warn the many owners of Castellus' Lexicon against the impression that it represents, at least substantially, the work of Bar-Bahlûl.

have not yet succeeded in obtaining a copy of that very rare "opusculum" and consequently cannot speak with authority of the conclusions of the author, nor of their direct influence on the fate of Bar-Bahlûl's compilation among us.

At all events, as early as 1836, Bernstein, Professor of Oriental Languages at Berlin, entered on a route entirely different from the beaten track, by deciding to publish the whole Lexicon of Bar-Bahlûl.<sup>1</sup> With two young German Orientalists DD. Behnsch and Gottwaldt, he repaired to Oxford and set to copying the whole of the Codex Huntington, and the first half of the Codex Marshal. Subsequently, he obtained collations from the manuscript of Florence. Six years later after having spent 5,000 thalers of his own money, he was allowed to hope that the King of Prussia would defray the expenses of the edition. Much elated over that expectation, Bernstein issued a proof of the publication, which he submitted to the minister together with an estimate of the cost, not doubting that thanks to Gesenius and Hahn, who had been appointed referees on his project, this would meet the approbation of the minister Eichhorn. Hahn reported favorably, but Gesenius who so far had been both privately and in public the principal advocate of Bernstein's complete edition of Bar-Bahlûl, said it would be preferable that Bernstein should publish his own Syriac dictionary after having worked into it Bar-Bahlûl's glosses. It would have been much wiser to ask him to publish his dictionary without any additions. The consequence was that Bernstein published nothing at all until 1857, when the first fascicle of his dictionary finally appeared, with the insertions from Bar-Bahlûl, according to Gesenius' strange recommendation. Bernstein was then sixty-nine years old. He died three years later without having published the second fascicle.<sup>2</sup>

The inexplicable judgment of Gesenius had, however, a more regrettable consequence than to simply put off indefinitely the publication of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon. It was an en-

<sup>1</sup> Although he had undertaken, and long completed, a Syriac dictionary of his own.

<sup>2</sup> See Bernstein, "Ueber die vorhandenen Handschr. des Syrisch-Arabischen Lexicons des Bar-Bahlûl und die von mir beabsichtigte Herausgabe dieses Werkes," Z. D. M. G., II (1848), p. 369 ff.—Nève, "De la renaissance des études Syriaques," *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, 1854. "L'Église d'Orient et son Histoire," *ibid.*, 1860.

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couragement for future Syriac lexicographers to adhere to a method which had proved radically wrong. In vain did P. de Lagarde ("Gesammelte Abhandlungen," 1, p. 2 ff) try to make this point clear to everybody, advocating the publication of Bar-Ali's and Bar-Bahlûl's complete works such as they were, as absolutely necessary; showing that a European lexicographer could not rely upon *one* manuscript of those works, and content himself with consulting other codices in places particularly obscure; that it was necessary to publish everything, even the lapsus calami of the amanuenses,<sup>1</sup> not only the words explained, but also their explanations as throwing considerable light on the expressions of the daily life of the Syrians; insisting that after all, Bar-Bahlûl's compilation was not so much a lexicon as an encyclopedia that demanded to be thoroughly and critically examined before it could be used for lexicographical or any other purposes; that one man, however learned and skillful he might be, could not make a choice or a selection among so many different forms in which often one same word will appear, without being arbitrary and therefore unreliable.

It was impossible to be clearer; and better advice was never given by a more competent man, and yet the next Syriologist who attempted to give to the public another Syriac dictionary, Payne Smith, proved just as "arriéré" in his methods as Castellus himself. He, too, yielded to the temptation of swelling his columns with glosses of the Syrian Lexicographers, remaining blind to the lessons taught by his predecessors, deaf to the warnings of those who could see. Naturally he quotes a great deal more abundantly than Castellus and we must say also more correctly; consequently there is no question of his having thereby contributed much towards gratifying the impatient curiosity of the lover of Syriac literature. But even if in some cases curiosity be intensely aroused and to some extent gratified, it is never satisfied. Of course P. de Lagarde did not miss the chance that was offered to him to recall the warnings against failure he had given to whoever would

<sup>1</sup> For "nicht allein das Wort ist die Mutter der Sache; auch der Schreibfehler ist der Vater des Aberwitzes." For instance white magic in contradistinction to Nigromantia, a mere corruption of necromanteia, under the pen of ignorant amanuenses.

attempt to make any use, worth mentioning, of such an immense and varied corpus of glosses as Bar-Bahlûl's compilation is, before this had been published in its entirety, and submitted for critical examination and sifting, not to one man (however able he might be), but to a whole body of men trained in the different branches of lore represented in that corpus.<sup>1</sup> We need not say that the great critic had no trouble to show, from the many mistakes and blunders into which the English Orientalist fell, that *his* is the only right view of publishing a new Syriac Dictionary, and the Syrian Lexicons, as well. But we shall not insist any longer on a defect which, however important it may be, does not affect the essential parts of the "Thesaurus." Be it sufficient to say that, after the completion of Payne Smith's gigantic work, an entire edition of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon would still have been necessary, if Prof. R. Duval had not undertaken and successfully carried through that important publication. Begun in 1888, it was finished in 1901, only a few months after the "Thesaurus" which was commenced in 1873. Indeed, France may well be proud that one of her scholars has succeeded where the learned men of England and Germany had failed, although, we must say, not without honor, nor without a right to a share of credit in Professor Duval's success.

Professor Duval's edition of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon forms three quarto volumes. The first two contain the text in 2,098 columns (Vol. I, 1-1 Coll. 1-984; Volume II. 2-3 Coll. 985-2098); the third volume is made of two introductions and several appendices; viz., the introduction to the first fascicle,<sup>2</sup> published like the latter in 1888 (pp. i-vi); 2°, the general introduction (pp. vii-xxxix), published in 1901<sup>3</sup> together with, 3°, an appendix containing the Greek words scattered throughout the Lexicon, brought back as far as possible to their primitive garb (pp. 1-77);<sup>4</sup> 4°, three indices for the Syriac, Arabic and Persian words, the passages of the Bible quoted by Bar-Bahlûl, and the "Addenda and Corrigenda" (pp. 78-248).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Symmieta," p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> "Præfatio Primi Fasciculi," in fact a temporary introduction.

<sup>3</sup> "Proœmium."

<sup>4</sup> "Appendix."

<sup>5</sup> "Index vocum syriacarum; Delectus vocum arabicarum; Index vocum persicarum; Loci Biblici; Addenda et Corrigenda."

The text claims our first attention. We are glad to say from the start that it answers all reasonable expectations.

A critical edition of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon, in the strict sense of the word, would have been, so to speak, an impossibility, under the existing circumstances; it would have implied the previous examination and sifting of that immense material, so as to distinguish what really belongs to Bar-Bahlûl, from what has been added unto it. Besides, the additions themselves ought to have been sifted in their turn, so as to be referred to their respective sources. We have already given clear evidence of all that;<sup>1</sup> moreover, we have insinuated that after all, this huge and tedious work of sifting—for which the lifetime of a scholar would probably not have sufficed—is secondary at most, when the question is of a compilation of glosses. The task of the first editor of Bar-Bahlûl was therefore to publish as soon as possible, in a reasonable time, and at a reasonable cost, the whole *corpus* of glosses, as they were found in the manuscripts.

For the very same reason it was not necessary to choose a Nestorian manuscript as the basis of the edition, as some have suggested. Besides, it would have been impossible to find a basis in the Nestorian group which, we have seen elsewhere, is represented only by the first two volumes of an odd set of four (see above p. 66) preserved in Rome (hence R in the future) and a patched-up copy of Berlin (hence B). Now, not only does R represent only one half of the whole Lexicon (from Alaf to Semcath), but the two volumes belong to two different manuscripts. As for B its fragmentary condition, without the mistakes in which it abounds, would also make it unfit to be used as a basis. We might go even further and question the very existence of a Nestorian group. But of that farther on.

Under such circumstances the best happened to be what otherwise might have been the worst: it was to select as a basis the generally most correct manuscript, even though more complete than the others only for containing more additional glosses. This Professor Duval understood, and he stuck to it, much to his credit, in spite of bitterly adverse criticism.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 67 and 68.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the lengthy criticism of Bar-Bahlûl's first fascicle by A. Rahlf, in the *Götting. gelehrte Anzeig.*, nos. 25 and 26 of 1893, and Duval's able answer in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX, vol. 3 (1894), p. 142 ff.



The basis of his edition is the Codex Huntington (H) written in 1645, which Bernstein also had selected for the basis of his own edition. In the margin Professor Duval gives all along, the variant readings of the Codex of Florence (F) 1606, and of the two codices discovered by the late Professor Socin (S and Ss).<sup>1</sup> These three Professor Duval has collated throughout. As for the other manuscripts, he quotes them also, here and there, but does not claim to have collated them except on the passages from which he excerpted variant readings. However, in the first pages he gives the readings of all the codices so as to allow the reader to form for himself as accurate an idea as possible of the character of each manuscript.

The result, as a whole, is quite satisfactory. We have now with sufficient accuracy the text of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon. A better edition will not be possible until prepared from the elements contained in this; and it may be the work of several generations.

We come now to the third volume, which, we have said, contains two introductions and several appendices, indices and so on. We shall take only the most striking features in the two introductions, as we do not intend to write here a volume of our own on that matter.

To begin with the general appearance of the volume, we must state frankly that we regret Professor Duval could not, on the completion of his work, merge the introduction to the first fascicle into the general introduction. It is a well known fact that an introduction can rarely be printed until the whole work is either in print, or at least, in the hands of the printer. In the contrary case, which generally happens when the publication takes place on the instalment plan, an announcement or temporary introduction is published with the first instalment and replaced afterwards, by the introduction proper. Professor Duval, apparently, intended to follow the ordinary custom;<sup>2</sup> for some reason or other he did not do so. He chose to retain the introduction to the first fascicle along with the general introduction. This has created, if not exactly disorder, at least some entanglement, and in some cases, the reversing of the

<sup>1</sup> For the dates see pp. 65 and 66.

<sup>2</sup> See his answer to A. Rahlfs criticism, loc. cit., p. 149.

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parts. Thus the classification of the manuscripts comes before their description; the reverse would be more natural, or at any rate, we would have expected to find the two parts together. There is considerable entanglement between the two introductions on that very same point. Some manuscripts are very differently described in the two. The class of the Nestorian manuscripts is very much curtailed in the second introduction, and the Jacobite class is increased in the same proportion. Besides there has been evidently some hesitation in the carrying out of the plan of the general introduction as announced in the introduction to the first fascicle; for instance, the two prefaces of Bar-Bahlûl which, according to the introduction to the first fascicle, were to be treated in a sixth chapter at the end of the general introduction, have been, in fact, as is more reasonable, incorporated with the first chapter: *De origine et Compositione*. This disorder, however, is more apparent than real. It simply shows that as Professor Duval was getting deeper in his subject and more familiar with the different elements or sources, he changed his original views on several points, either spontaneously or as a consequence of criticism. Moreover, we must say that these variations do not affect either of the two essential points: The method, and the choice of the manuscripts to be used. It is evident that even long before the publication of the first fascicle, Professor Duval had clearly made up his mind as to what course he was to follow on those two points, nor could the most bitter criticism make him deviate from it.

The part of the introduction most open to criticism, or at least to suggestion, is the classification of manuscripts, also their description, both in itself or in relation to the classification.

Professor Duval has divided all his manuscripts containing the Lexicon of Bar-Bahlûl, uninterpolated with the one of Bar-Ali, into two classes. I. The Eastern or Nestorian manuscripts, and II. the Western, subdivided, themselves, into Jacobite and Maronite. Undoubtedly he had his reasons for such a distinction. But we would like to know them. In the case of Cod. B., for instance, we have a statement about its script to show us that it was at least copied by a Nestorian, nevertheless

it might have been copied from a manuscript of Monophysite recension. Still worse is the case with Cod. R. (Vols. I and II). For Professor Duval does not say anything about its script. The only Nestorian feature mentioned in the description consists in a couple of notes in Nestorian script, referring to the ownership of the two volumes. Certainly Professor Duval must have had something more serious than that to guide him in his classification.

The system of "Sigla" selected to indicate the manuscripts in the margin is not very clear. R for instance stands for four volumes corresponding to as many manuscripts—two of the Nestorian group and two of the Jacobite group. On the other side two volumes of the same manuscript are represented by two different "Sigla" F and Ss. It is confusing for the reader; it would have been as easy as it was desirable to avoid that inconvenience.

In the description of Cod. F which he collated entirely, Professor Duval does not make the slightest allusion to the Catalogue of Assemani, where that manuscript is entered as dating from 1635, instead of 1606. We are ready to believe that Professor Duval is right as against Assemani, yet we should feel more satisfied if he had given us to understand that he was conscious of contradicting his predecessor.

In this same description, Professor Duval speaking of the copyist Antonius Sionita, says: "liquet Antonium ex Hierosolymis oriundum, etc." Antonius Sionita was no more a native of Jerusalem than Gabriel Sionita. Both were from Ehden in Mount Lebanon, and probably belong to the same family, *Siûni*.

Here and there in the colophons we have come across a few misrenderings. As a rule they are mere "lapsus calami," without importance in such a work as an edition of Bar-Bahlûl's Lexicon. One, however, affects a point that might prove interesting for the history and classification of the manuscripts of the Maronite group. We mean the words *أجاب هذه النسخة* i.e., in Arabic letters, *اجاب هذه النسخة* which we read in a colophon in Carshooni script of Cod. Marshal. Payne Smith in his catalogue of the Syriac MSS. of the Bodleian Library, Col. 625, translates: *ut hic codex transcriberetur concessit*, and in a footnote to that passage he adds: "Nostrum autem codicem in eo

cœnobio in A. C. 1597 *describendum curavit* Georgius Amira, rogantibus monachis, *اجاب* enim *annuit*." Prof. Duval accepts, although not without some hesitation, that rendering and translates also: "*hoc exemplar exscribendum curavit (?)*" without commentary, even without referring us to Payne Smith. I shall not lose time in trying to show that there is nothing in Arabic grammar or lexicography to justify such a rendering. If *اجاب* is not, as I think, a lapsus calami, it can stand for nothing else than *جاب* which in Mount Lebanon as elsewhere stands for *جاء* and means "he brought." So that we must translate: *et hoc attulit exemplar*. If this interpretation be right, it follows that the original codex from which the Maronite group flowed was not, as supposed, the property of the Convent of St. Anthony, but of George Amira, the archbishop of Ehden; and while there is nothing to show that the prelate did not find the manuscript in some other convent of Mount Lebanon, St. Sergius' Convent, for instance, in the diocese of, and right above Ehden, it is quite permissible also to suppose that the manuscript came from some other part of the world. George Amira had returned from Rome in 1595, after a stay of twelve years in that city, where he might very well have received it from some Oriental priest or from some missionary. We shall add that the colophon in question is not an ordinary note of the copyist, not even necessarily a note of the copyist at all. It is the recording of a contract and consequently it does not prove that its author was the amanuensis who wrote this particular manuscript.

Having spoken of other "lapsus" in the translation of the colophons, I shall quote just one instance from that very same one, *i.e.*, *في طاعة* which Professor Duval, again following Payne Smith, renders: *in ditione*. I think he means: *prae obedientia*.

We could say a great deal on this very interesting question of the manuscripts, but it would take us too far beyond the limits of a review, limits that we have already much exceeded, while deviating somewhat from the style of book review. Besides in a publication like this the details of execution sink into insignificance in comparison with the undertaking itself, and the methods that made it a success.

HENRY HYVARNAT.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

**Schriften und Einrichtungen zur Bildung der Geistlichen**, uebersetzt, erlaeutert, und mit einer Geschichte des geistlichen Bildungswesen eingeleitet. Von Markus Siebengartner, Religionslehrer am Alten Gymnasium in Regensburg. Freiburg: Herder, 1902. 8°, pp. xv + 501.

We have in this work the fourteenth volume of the very useful "Bibliothek der Katholischen Paedagogik," inaugurated by Herder in Freiburg. The series, of which we hope, ere long, to give a lengthy synopsis, is deserving of all encouragement, being a most helpful collection of the materials for the history of Christian education as carried on under the auspices of the Catholic Church.

In the present volume we have, in German translation, twenty-one valuable documents for the history of clerical education. They are: the panegyric of Saint Gregory Thaumaturgus on Origen, the letters of Saint Jerome to Nepotianus and Paulinus, the work of Cassiodorus on the study of the Holy Scriptures, the work of Rabanus Maurus on the education of ecclesiastics, extracts on clerical education from the Capitularies of Charlemagne, specimens of statutes of mediæval Foundation-Schools and Colleges, Gerson's three letters on the Study of Theology, the work of Nicholas of Clemanges on the same subject, the Statutes of the German College at Rome, the "Seminary Decree" of the Council of Trent, the Ordinances of St. Charles Borromeo for the general administration of his seminary, the Rules and Regulations for the Seminaries of the Province of Bordeaux (1583), two encyclicals of Clement VIII (1592), the Statutes of the Seminary of Brixen (1607), the Rules and Customs of Saint Sulpice (1645), the Statutes of the Seminaries of the Ven. Bartholomew Holzhaeuser, the Reflexions of Jacob Frint (1766-1803) on the intellectual and moral formation of youthful clerics, the Constitutions of Maynooth (1820), the Statutes of the "Ottonianum" of Bamberg (1880), the Statutes of the "Georgianum" of Munich (1893), and the "Istruzione" of Leo XIII (1896) for all clerics who attend the higher schools under state control. A preface of some two hundred pages presents the only modern general history of Catholic clerical education, and deserves at once the compliment of a translation into English.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**La Vie Littéraire à Dijon au XVIII Siècle**, d'après des documents nouveaux. Par l'abbé Emile Deberre. Paris: Picard, 1902. 8°, pp. 413.

To the student of general literature these pages of the abbé Deberre cannot fail to be interesting. They contain, as it were, so many rapid but luminous "aperçus" of the life of lettered ease that was once the highest charm and commendation of such old French towns as Dijon in Burgundy. To-day the globe-trotter knows scarcely more of it than can be gathered from the "perron" of the railway-station as he hastens from Paris to Turin, Florence, or Rome. But the ancient city has a respectable place in the story of the intellectual life of France. It was always a local centre of philological and historical activities. Such genial and philosophic Jesuits as the Père Oudin, nurtured and furthered by precept and example the love of Latin letters—from them or their life-long disciples, like the president de Brosse came valuable editions, *e. g.*, Cicero and Sallust. Savants like Saumaise (Salmassius) and the president Bouhier were the equals in critical learning of the best Italians and Englishmen of their day. And though the Dijonnais were quite provincial in their domestic and social manners, and, except for an occasional journey into Italy, rarely quitted the native hearth, they ranged freely the modern world of letters; the voluminous correspondence of a Bouhier shows how catholic were their academic sympathies. Classical Latin texts, literary biography, local antiquities, Romance literature, every department of Roman antiquities, the whole cycle of scholarly researches, found willing and life-long students at Dijon. The suppression of the Jesuit college of Godrans in 1763 marked a decline in some respects—but the vast libraries of Bouhier and de Ruffey, and the acquired taste and skill of earlier days, went far to supply the place of the Jesuits, whose excessive devotion to Latin and theatricals had to make way for French history and the newly developed natural sciences. One figure seems to dominate the whole century at Dijon—the scholarly magistrate Bouhier, of whom the good Père Oudin wrote that he was a judge who

"tout puisse lire et savoir,  
Faisant aux plaids mieulx qu'aucun son devoir,  
Mieulx que Cujas sçavoir Code et Digeste,  
Mieulx que Budé sçavoir grec; en conteste,  
Endoctriner les plus doctes docteurs,  
Comme ses doigts connoistre les auteurs;  
Sur prose et vers, mythologie, histoire,  
Chronologie, inscriptions, grimoire,

Sur tout langage, ibérien, toscan,  
 Et du vieil Cadme et du moderne Can,  
 Nouveau Gaulois, Phénicien antique,  
 Discourir mieulx que sur la réthorique  
 Que Cicero ne discourust. Encor  
 Avoir les moeurs du plaisant age d'or,  
 Humain, courtois."

At Dijon the abbé Lelong compiled his famous "Bibliothèque historique de la France" whose 17,487 articles were increased by Ferret de Fontelle to some 57,000, making it until lately an indispensable guide to French history. Another abbé, Courtépée, wrote a charming "Description du duché de Bourgogne" in seven volumes, while another, Leboeuf, became the historian of the diocese of Paris. M. Deberre's sketches of these antiquarian scholars are especially entertaining: Courtépée had genuine historical qualities of a high order.

To Dijon must also be accredited the Latin hymn-writer, Santeuil, the critical and erudite Richard de Ruffey, a transitional figure from the scholarly faith of the seventeenth to the philosophic incredulity of the eighteenth century, the famous naturalist Buffon, and other scholars of more than local fame. Its local Academy, since 1740, supplemented more or less the great libraries of Bouhier, De Ruffey and Ferret, the first of which was practically the City Library, generously open to all scholars, and kept supplied with the best literature—it counted 35,000 printed volumes and 2,000 manuscripts. The world of letters owes no small debt to those great French magistrates like de Thou, Bouhier and de Brosses, who dispensed their wealth with so much enlightenment. In the annals of French poetry the Dijonnais Crébillon has a place of honor: so too the erratic Piron

"Qui ne fut rien,  
 Pas même académicien."

Literary abbés were numerous—men like Papillon, Joly, and Leblanc. Some curious revolutionary documents printed on pp. 354-355 reveal one unhappy side of the clerical life of the period—the absolute absorption in letters. Under date of the ninth Thermidor, year II, (August 6, 1794) the abbé Charles Boullemier, "aged 69, man of letters, librarian of the college of Dijon" requests from the revolutionary authorities his freedom from arrest. He states

"Qu'il a passé toute sa vie à former la bibliothèque publique, qu'une détention imprévue, non motivée, lui a ôté sa place, qu'il est prêtre, qu'il n'a jamais possédé de bénéfices, ni prêché, ni enfin exercé de fonctions ecclésiastiques, que depuis longtemps il a renoncé au costume, uniquement occupé de l'étude et de sa place de bibliothécaire, qu'il ne songeait qu'à remplir ses devoirs



de citoyen et obéir à la loi, qu'il a prêté serment, . . . que s'il a été prêtre, il n'en a jamais eu que le nom, . . .

"Pour quoy, il recourt à ce qu'il soit mis en liberté, attendu son âge avancé et son travail pour la chose publique."

Some unedited letters of Voltaire, and an unedited draft of the famous discourse on "style" delivered by Buffon on the occasion of his reception into the French Academy, lend a special value to this volume. The disposition of the materials is rather unsatisfactory and a sufficient "Index rerum" is wanting. Withal, it is not the least instructive of the many new books on French literary and academic life in the provinces, during the eighteenth century, that we now owe to the patriotic pens of the modern French clergy.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Les Martyrs :** Recueil de pièces authentiques sur les Martyrs depuis les origines du Christianisme jusqu'au XX siècle. I. Les Temps Néroniens et le Deuxième Siècle, précédé d'une Introduction, par le R. P. Dom H. Leclercq, Moine bénédictin de St. Michael de Farnborough. Paris: Oudin, 1902. 8vo, cxi + 229.

The French Benedictines established at Farnborough in England are not belying the traditional zeal and industry of the race that once gave to the world its Mabillons, Montfaucons, Martènes, D'Acherys and a hundred other savants of an order at once very high and very rare. Besides the noble documentary collection of the "Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica" of the ancient Church that they have begun, and hope to finish in a series of stately volumes that will be like a liturgical chartulary or muniment-room for the public worship of primitive Catholicism, they have undertaken to popularize these same materials. Already we have noticed in the BULLETIN, the "Livre de la Prière Antique" of Dom Cabrol. We have now to announce the publication of the first volume of a collection destined to present to the reading public a selection of authentic documents concerning the Christian martyrs from the beginning of Christianity down to our own time. The enterprise is not one of purely scientific character. It is rather one of edification, but based on genuine documents. It presupposes the best critical work of the Christian archaeologist and historian, the epigraphist, the palæographer, the numismatist and the antiquarian. When these have done their work most severely and unsparingly, there still remains an abundant mass of information, even for the earliest days of the Christian religion.

The official legal accounts of the Roman tribunals, once kept with accuracy, and often transcribed for the survivors of the great religious

storms, have naturally almost entirely perished. Of the Christian contemporary literature of martyrdom only a few fragments have reached us—exhortations to steadfastness and the like. Even Eusebius had difficulty in putting together from domestic sources the invaluable account of Christian martyrdom that almost makes up his *Ecclesiastical History*. The Roman Church almost alone, has saved any epigraphical material, and all other artistic monuments are usually of a date well within or close to the Triumph of the Church.

So we are reduced to what is known as the "Acts of the Martyrs," a body of documents that has come down through the ages, more or less authentic and entire. The Benedictine Ruinart sifted the more ancient ones, and covered with his great authority a rather small number of them. Since the end of the seventeenth century, and notably in the latter half of the nineteenth, this curious survival of old ecclesiastical material has attracted, like a Golden Dustheap, a multitude of antiquarian scavengers, often with results astonishing to both extremes of criticism and credulity. De Rossi, Duchesne, Edmond Le Blant, and a small school of disciples, imitators, and vulgarizers, have gone over the débris of those three centuries until it would seem that the last word had long been said. Nevertheless, the recent book of M. Dufoureaux on the "*Gesta Martyrum Romains*" shows that new considerations are yet to be looked for.

Dom Leclercq, quaintly but charmingly, opens his series of translations from the "Acts of the Martyrs" with the story of the Passion of our Lord from the Diatessaron or harmonized gospel of Tatian, a most valuable document of the latter half of the second century, and partaking curiously of both the apostolic and sub-apostolic character. From the Acts of the Apostles he takes the martyrdom of Saint Stephen and from Eusebius the picturesque story of the death of Saint James the Great. Through the same author has been saved the account by Hegesippus of the death of Saint James the Less.

Then follow the most original accounts of the martyrs under Nero, of the deaths of Saint Peter and Paul, Flavius Clemens, Saint John the Evangelist, the Martyrs of Bithynia and Asia Minor, of Saint Simeon of Jerusalem, Saint Ignatius of Antioch, the Bithynian martyrs under Trajan, those of Asia (Minor) under Hadrian, Saint Polycarp of Smyrna, Saints Carpos, Papylos and Agathonice, Saint Ptolemæus and his companions, Saint Justin, the martyrs of Lyons, the Scillitan martyrs, Saint Apollonius, Saints Perpetua and Felicitas. In an appendix as interpolated or of later date, are given the "Acts" of the martyrdoms of Saints Thecla, Andrew, Clement, Nereus and Achilleus, Ignatius of Antioch, Symphorosa and her seven sons, Felicitas and her seven sons, Epipodius and Alexander, Cæcilia.

Each document is preceded by a brief literary history of its origin and vicissitudes. Its actual repository is indicated, together with the best and latest, usually periodical, literature in which it is scientifically handled. The volume is enriched with a lengthy preface that leans heavily on Edmund Le Blant's "Persécuteurs et Martyrs" (1893) and on other learned writings of that distinguished critic and investigator in the domain of early Christian history. In this preface are indicated the chief items of our actual knowledge concerning the documents of martyrdom, the Roman governmental régime of the persecutions; the promulgation of the edicts; flight, rashness, apostasy, of Christians; their seizure, imprisonment, interrogation; their judges and tribunal; the defence, torture, sentence, appeals, punishments; the inventory and confiscation of estates.

It is a work that every Christian may read with profit. Of the Christian martyr we may say with truth: *Defunctus adhuc loquitur*. As a matter of fact, it was the prestige of martyrdom that principally sustained Catholicism in the popular mind, Greek, Latin and barbarian, from Constantine to Charlemagne.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**L'Eglise et L'Etat:** Les Leçons de L'Heure Presente. Par l'Abbé Ch. Denis. (Reprint from "Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne, Vol. XLV., January, 1902.) Pp. 85. One franc.

**Les Vrais Perils,** Réponse à Mgr. Turinaz, by the same. Paris: Roger-Chernoviz, 1902. One franc.

**Un Careme Apologetique sur les Dogmes Fondamentaux,** sujets et plans de sermons, Station de la Métropole d'Albi prêchée par l'abbé Ch. Denis. Paris: Roger-Chernoviz, 1902. Francs 1.50.

1. The first of these brochures is a grave philosophic requisitory against the attitude of a certain portion of the clergy and laity of France, as regards the modern questions and problems of a social and scientific character. With most of what the Abbé Denis says every sensible American Catholic will not only agree, but agree wondering that there should be any necessity for so vehement and searching a plea in favor of common sense and immediate union. Shall we forever carry on tactics of another day that have no solid grip on the realities of the life about us, or shall we go down into the arena of life as it is offered us by the growing majority, and conquer or reconquer a share in the public respect and affection by our own deeds, our own practical sympathies, our own contributions to the social welfare and the progress of all the sciences? There ought to be no such dilemma, it would seem. Yet in France there is. Politics, religion, the social order,

are not there a thing of yesterday, as they largely are with us. They are rather the outcroppings of ancient forces that are very deeply rooted in hearts eminently mobile and sensitive. There is something "Chinese" about the power of "tradition" in France, something anchored very deeply in the popular temperament, of the peasantry at least; and the clergy to no small extent come up from the very "terroir" of France. The Abbé Denis earnestly urges a thorough reform in the studies of the seminaries, a reform long since suggested by Kraus, Hettinger and Hergenroether, and other German Catholic critics of French conditions, and now happily initiated in some dioceses of France, in the spirit and along the lines suggested by the "Clerical Studies" of the late regretted Abbé Hogan. We recommend these pages to those of our readers who wish to acquire a *vue d'ensemble* of the actual status of French Catholicism, as it appears to a learned and authoritative member of the household. "Tua res agitur," when your neighbor's house is afire.

2. For those who are interested in new and large presentations of Christian truth and Catholic social history we can recommend the notes of his Lenten sermons delivered in the Cathedral of Albi and now made public by the Abbé Denis. The director of the "*Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*" one of the oldest and most respectable of the French Catholic periodicals, is not the last comer in this field, as may be seen from his works on M. Caro and the Spiritualist Philosophy in France, his sketch of a philosophical Apology for Christianity, and his book on Renan and Historical Apologetics. It may not be amiss if we reprint from the preface a few phrases that reveal the purpose of the author, a purpose at once profoundly religious and full of "modernity."

"Plus on étudie les esprits contemporains, leurs goûts, leurs lectures favorites et habituelles, plus aussi on est disposé à admettre qu'un mode nouveau de croire se dessine selon une mentalité nouvelle. Nos contemporains retournent volontiers à la Religion, si elle leur est présentée sur le plan des connaissances et des certitudes qui leur sont familières. L'élite pensant et savante se prête à une exposition dogmatique, faite selon une correspondance bien établie des sciences modernes avec l'idée surnaturelle.

"J'ai esquissé ici une courte et modeste tentative, qui n'a pas du tout la prétention d'être définitive, et sans de graves défauts.

"Nous autres, prédicateurs catholiques, n'avons-nous pas une tendance à croire que nos auditeurs sont indifférents aux problèmes religieux? N'imaginons-nous pas facilement qu'ils ignorent les débats actuels sur les origines, l'histoire des croyances et des institutions, l'exégèse, les systèmes philosophiques?

"J'estime que tout le contraire existe; aujourd'hui plus que jamais, la foi du charbonnier est une exception. Nos contemporains sont travaillés de mille façons. Ils savent, par les journaux quotidiens, par les propagandes actives, par

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les conférences et les défis publics, que telles questions, intéressant profondément la Foi, sont posées.

"Avons-nous le droit de nous dérober, sous des prétextes égoïstes, au devoir de résoudre ces problèmes de notre mieux? Surement non! Mais, pour les résoudre de manière à frapper l'attention des incrédules ou des indifférents, il nous faut accomplir toute une transposition de méthode, adopter une terminologie particulière, prendre surtout des points de départ nouveaux. Cette innovation de forme ne touche en rien au fond; elle est accidentelle et transitoire: la Vérité est immuable et éternelle."

3. The troubles of the Church in France are no longer due chiefly to her open and avowed enemies. Within her own bosom have been growing oppositions and divergencies of the most serious kind. In no part of the Catholic Church are the domestic differences more acute, more personal and immediate. And because of the time-honored influence of France on all Catholicism, in no part of the same could these discords be productive of a more general uneasiness. A great majority of the missionaries of Catholicism are French men and women; they rarely emigrate from the "douce terre de France" for any other reason. Their language is yet the "lingua franca" of Catholicism, the current medium of the best Catholic thought. Their literature, their Church art, their ecclesiastical institutions, are at home in every quarter of the Catholic world. Are these not more than sufficient reasons for the interest that Catholics everywhere manifest in the affairs of their Church in that admirable nation? As for American Catholics, they would be especially ungrateful if they were not concerned for the affairs of the Church of France, so truly are we the daughters of that Church by our original episcopate and missionaries, by generous support, by clerical training and ideals. Surely it is with sorrow and dismay that we look upon its domestic warfare at the moment that all its ancient refuges and citadels seem to be falling into the hands of the enemies of common Christian life, order, and ideals. The liberal policy of Leo XIII, steadily urged and faithfully adhered to by him in every public and official utterance ought indeed to be the guide of all. Unhappily, in the application of the same painful and unexpected obstacles have arisen, as well on the part of Catholics as on the part of the unsteady parliamentary majorities, that now do service as the government of France, and that seem animated by very narrow sectarian, if not revolutionary, principles.

It is to be hoped that these writings of the abbé Denis, so frank and sensible, so honest and timely, will help to clarify the atmosphere and rally around the pacific and conciliatory standard of Leo XIII all men of good will, and especially all men of office and responsibility. It is in such generous and luminous direction that overreaches the local



and personal, the temporary and transitory, that consists the genuine utility of the political action of the papacy. It may well be that a monarchy would better suit the French people than a republic. It certainly would not be any such monarchy as has yet existed in France. In the meantime, is it well to further enrage the "énergumènes" who succeed one another in short-lived dictatorships à la South American republics? And would it not be well to secure the protection of the common law, while waiting for a renaissance of the latent Catholicism of the whole nation?

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Passio Sanctæ Theclæ Virginis:** Die lateinischen Uebersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclæ, nebst Fragmenten, Auszuegen und Beilagen. Herausgegeben von Oscar von Gebhardt. Leipzig; Hinrichs, 1902. 8vo, pp. cxvi+184. (Texte und Untersuchungen, New Series, VII, 2.) Marks 9.50.

In this number of the learned "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alchristlichen Literatur," Dr. von Gebhardt, gives us the results of his labors on the manuscripts that contain the oldest Latin versions of the famous Acts of Paul and Thecla. The several Greek texts of the same are now most easily accessible in the edition of Lipsius and Bonnet (1891). A minute examination and comparison of five ancient Latin versions shows, according to Dr. von Gebhardt, that while all five are of independent origin, and deal freely with their Greek original, they furnish little help at this distance for a scientific reconstruction of the latter. One of these old Latin versions is here made known for the first time, from Paris and Toulouse manuscripts. Of the five, two are entire translations, a third one exhibits a lengthy lacuna of several chapters, a fourth offers only a brief fragment, while the fifth (pp. 130-150) is at once an epitome and the form under which the Acts of Paul and Thecla were most read in the mediæval West. Though none of the many Latin manuscripts is older than the tenth century, Dr. von Gebhardt is inclined (p. lxi) to place the sixth century as a "terminus ad quem" for the oldest Latin translation of these Acts. A Greek fragment discovered by Grenfell and Hunt (Oxyrhynchus Papyri, 1898) agrees in a surprising way with the corresponding chapters in one of the most popular Latin translations. The Greek fragment in question belongs very probably to the fifth century. But this does not preclude the possibility of an earlier date for the first Latin translation.

We might add that in the archaic "Ordo Commendationis Animæ" which Le Blant and Lehner look on as older than the fourth century, Thecla is alone remembered, outside of the Scriptural names, and with

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a detail that goes to show the currency in the Latin Church of a text of her legend. Bardenhewer. (*Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur*, 1902, p. 427) opines that there can no longer be any doubt as to the character of the current Acts of Paul and Thecla. They are not of Gnostic origin, or even "adapted" Acts; they are those forged by an orthodox Catholic priest of Asia Minor, about 160-170, and known to Tertullian who relates the fact (*De bapt.* c. 17) with the priest's excuse: "se id fecisse amore Pauli." A pseudo-Cyprianic work entitled "*Cœna*," and probably belonging to the fifth century could, even so early, make use of an extant Latin translation of these Acts, so that not improbably Tertullian himself may have read them in that tongue. The discovery by C. Schmidt in 1897, that a ragged Coptic manuscript of the seventh century contained not only the Acts of Paul, but also his supposed correspondence with Seneca and the Acts of Paul and Thecla, confirms the bold hypothesis of Zahn that all three documents, with the "*Passio Sancti Pauli Apostoli*," were integrant parts of a complete and extensive Acts of Paul, current very early in the second century. If the statement of St. Jerome (*de vir. ill.*, c. 7) be correct, viz., that the guilty Asiatic priest was condemned by St. John, this curious collection might possibly go back to the time of Trajan (98-117). Possibly St. Jerome read that item in the lost Greek treatise of Tertullian on baptism. The literary history of Saint Clement, of Tatian, of the Didaché, the *De Aleatoribus*, and other early texts shows what surprises may yet be in store for us in the province of early Latin translations of valuable Greek Christian texts. A curious "*Miracula Sanctæ Theclæ Virginis*" from a fourteenth-century Lambeth codex of the Acts gives an account of the miracles performed at a Welsh shrine of Saint Thecla "*loco qui ejus nomine ecclesia vetusto opere constructa Britannico idiomate Lantteglin nuncupatur, quod latine 'fundus Theclæ' sonat.*" This reference to an old Keltic wooden church indicates a very early origin in Britain of the veneration of Saint Thecla. Indeed, she was one of the four women in whose honor the female sex of mediæval England enjoyed annually special holidays. Among the miracles related is another curious one that shows the fame of Saint Thecla among the Old-Irish, "*Homo quidam pulcher aspectu et eleganti forma, natione Hibernensis, nomine Aéith habens pulcherrimos oculos et tamen nihil videbat, quia ab infantia sua cæcus, etc.*" On his way to Rome he is cured by the intercession of the Saint. We may, therefore, imagine a very early diffusion in Keltic Britain and Ireland of the "cultus" of this saint, a fact that confirms the very great popularity of her legend in the West previous to the fifth century, and the consequent existence of an earlier Latin translation of the same.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**The Merchant Adventures of England,** their Laws and Ordinances, with other documents. By W. E. Lingelbach, Ph.D. (Translation and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, Second Series, Vol. II. Published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania.) New York: Longmans, 1902. 8vo, pp. xxxix + 260.

The bulk of this volume is devoted to the "Laws, Customes and Ordinances of the ffellowshippe of Merchantes Adventurers of the Realm of England, etc.," a large folio volume of over 200 pages kept since 1852 among the additional manuscripts of the British Museum, and probably compiled between 1608 and 1611. In these pages we have the public and official side of one of the great mediæval industries of England—the continental distribution of the woollen goods for which that kingdom was once so remarkable. Though the society may be said to have lived for six centuries, from the twelfth to the beginning of the nineteenth, its chief activity seems to have been from the fifteenth to the middle of the eighteenth, first in the North of France and in the Low Countries, and then at Hamburg. The extensive private records of the "Merchant Adventurers" have not yet been found—but enough original material exists in this volume to throw much light on the beginnings of the continental commerce of England, especially in the period when the English were ceasing to export the raw wool and taking up at home the manufacture of cloth for the continental market. Thereby the prosperity of Florence and other cities of Northern Italy was affected in no small degree, and the balance of industrial daring and consequent wealth moved northward. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the rivalries of the Emperor and the Crown of England transferred the "Staple" or warehouses of the society from Antwerp to Hamburg, and brought on a long warfare with the Hanseatic League, that ended disastrously enough for the former. This volume may well be read in connection with "The Gild Merchant" of Professor Gross, and Professor Cunningham's "Growth of English Commerce." There is in these statutes no little of the mediæval temper; if they are an original document for the history of modern commerce, they are likewise a relic of the ideas that once prevailed in Catholic England in all that pertains to fair play, equality, justice, equity, moderation, public and private morality in commercial dealings. Not a few "curiosa" are scattered through the volume. In spite of the detail of the chapter-contents, the book badly needs an index, likewise a bibliography of the works cited or used in illustration of the text. These defects are all the more glaring as the book is destined for students. Otherwise, the volume is a creditable specimen of text-publication.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

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**Pelagius in Irland:** Texte und Untersuchungen zur patristischen Litteratur. Von Heinrich Zimmer. Weidemann, Berlin: 1901. 8°, pp. viii + 450.

Patrologists have always been interested in a work of Pelagius, written before the Sack of Rome (410) and known to contemporaries as "Expositiones brevissimæ" or "commentarii" on the Epistles of Saint Paul. They were very brief, but pertinent, sensible and profound, as became the reputation of the heresiarch for learning and blamelessness of life. The Catholic theologians of the day recognized at once the heretical character of certain expositions, notably to the fifth chapter of Romans. Still the commentary held its ground in ecclesiastical circles, owing to its intrinsic merits, and to the fact that it was an early work of Pelagius, written before he had drawn the final conclusions from his premises and been formally condemned. In less than a century the work had sheltered itself under a very safe name and authority. Cassiodorus, writing before 544 on the study of the scriptures (c. 8), could say that certain "adnotationes" on the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul were "in cunctorum manibus," "celebres," and attributed to that most learned man "Saint Gelasius, Pope of the City of Rome." This writer adds that he had carefully examined the commentary, and found its phrases indeed "subtilissimas ac brevissimas" but infected with the virus of Pelagian error. This was notably the case with the Epistle to the Romans; so he had cleansed it with much application (qua potui curiositate purgavi) and left the remaining twelve to the shrewdness of his disciples. On the other hand, by a curious trick of fate, this Pelagius commentary thus "castigated" went almost at once under the name of Saint Jerome, and for a thousand years the bitterest enemy of Pelagius became the literary heir not only of this production but of other writings of the "porridge-fat" Scot (Zimmer, p. 213). Since Erasmus, the error has been known and admitted, and the opinion prevalent that the Pseudo-Hieronymus commentary on the Pauline Epistles (Migne, PL. XXX, 645 sqq.) is identical with the work known to Cassiodorus and expurged by him and his disciples. Dr. Zimmer, improving on a theory of Klasen in the *Tuebingen Quartalschrift* for 1885 (Vol. LXVII), is of the opinion that the actual text of Ps.-Hieronymus is not the Cassiodoran recension of the Pelagius commentary. It is the original commentary itself, expurged indeed, but identical with the text known to and used by Saint Augustine and Marius Mercator. The proof of this he finds in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, and in certain continental manuscripts of Irish provenance. Let it be said at once, with due reserves, that the book is a monument of rare

erudition and literary insight, such as perhaps no other scholar is capable of executing. It is really a new and permanent contribution to Latin patrology and such a thesaurus of rare and curious "notitiæ" about the earliest Irish Church history as is not often met with outside of a German encyclopædic "Arbeit."

Dr. Zimmer holds that it is only natural to look to the Irish Church for the literary tradition of this commentary of Pelagius. The latter, he maintains, was an Irishman who reached the continent, by way of the monasteries of southwest Britain, toward the end of the fourth century. His writings would naturally interest the Christians of his own race in their native home; as a matter of fact Pope John IV writing in 640 to the heads of the North Irish Church, expressly says that he has been informed (by the southern Irish) that the Pelagian heresy has broken out again among them, which of course supposes the existence and use of the writings of the heresiarch. Indeed, the *Collectio Hibernensis*, a canonical code of the Irish Church, compiled between the last years of the seventh and first years of the eighth century, cites textually the commentary of Pelagius as it has reached us in Pseudo-Hieronymus.

That the use of the entire Pelagian commentary was unbroken in Ireland, and in no wise owing to the importation of the continental expurgated text represented by Pseudo-Hieronymus, results, says Dr. Zimmer, from the examination of three ancient manuscripts—the Book of Armagh, transcribed at Armagh in the year 807 from an original already quite unintelligible for its antiquity, and two other scripture-manuscripts, preserved respectively at Würzburg and Vienna. The former is of the eighth or ninth century; the latter is of the year 1097, and in the handwriting of Marianus O'Gorman. In one way or another these three manuscripts of native Irish provenance reproduce the original text of the commentary of Pelagius. Similarly, the wandering Irish monks on the continent in the ninth and tenth centuries have left traces of their constant use of the Pelagius-commentary in its original shape. Thus, Sedulius Scotus, a famous Irish pedagogue of the ninth century, cites the commentary and even uses the native Irish sound of the name—Pilagius. In several of the continental monasteries, founded or frequented by these Irish monks, were once kept manuscripts of the commentary, either written in Ireland, or copies of old Irish transcripts made on the continent. Thus, in an ancient tenth-century catalogue of the monastery-library of Lorsch (Cod. Vat. 1877) we meet with a (now lost) copy of the Pelagius-commentary. Lorsch lay on the great highway of the Rhine that led from Cologne and Mayence to the Irish refuges of Reichenau

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and St. Gall. Its ancient annals begin with the brief necrologies of Irish abbots—Domnon, Cellan, Dubdeeras, Macflathei. So, too, in Old-Irish monasteries of Flanders, Picardy and Normandy, founded in the eighth and ninth centuries by Columban monks from Luxeuil. In 831 St. Riequier in Picardy (near Abbeville) could inscribe on its catalogue of (195) “codices librorum claustralium de divinitate,” the title: “*expositio Pelagii super XIII Epistolas Pauli.*”

The most valuable pages of Dr. Zimmer's book are doubtless those (219–450) in which he demonstrates that the ancient St. Gall manuscript “*Expositio Pelagii super omnes Epistolas Pauli*” (Codex 278) that Weidmann in his history of that library (p. 381) regretted as lost, is really yet extant in Codex 73. Though not a *liber scotticé scriptus*, it was written out in St. Gall between 850 and 872 by the learned Moengal, an Irish schoolmaster-monk whom the St. Gall brethren had persuaded to stay with them on his return from a pilgrimage to Rome. He would naturally use the continental hand when in the service of his continental brethren—a fact long since suggested by Wattenbach in illustration of an extensive Irish literary activity on the continent that can no longer be traced by their peculiar handwriting alone. We can hardly refrain from smiling when Dr. Zimmer suggests (p. 224) that Moengal and his uncle, the bishop Marcus, were loath to show at Rome the original of this Pelagius-commentary.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it was out of pique at his predecessor's failure to examine the satchels of these Irish pilgrims that Pope Nicholas I requested Charles the Bald to send on to him John the Irishman (Joannes Scotus Eriugena) suspected of heretical sentiments *in re* authority and reason!

The Church historian will find very helpful the pages (3–12) on the earliest traces of Roman-Christian culture in Ireland, and those (213–216) devoted to a comparison of Irish monastic scholarship with that of the continent, in the sixth and seventh centuries. Zimmer agrees (pp. 5–7) with Traube that the knowledge of Greek in the west was at one time confined to Irishmen. Through them alone were kept in use certain “Guides” and “Helps” to the Greek language such as the one compiled A. D. 207, and handed down to us in the writing of an old Irish teacher-monk (Traube, *O Roma Nobilis*, pp. 48, 59). But when Zimmer claims for the Irish Church in the

<sup>1</sup>Es ist fuer die Zustaende der irischen Kirche im erster Haelfte des 9 Jahrhunderts gewiss bezeichnend—aber nach Allem was in dem ersten Theil ausgefuehrt ist, wohl verstaendlich, das um a. 849 ein irischer Abt den Kommentar des Haeresiarchen und Landsmannes Pelagius ‘ad limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli’ mitnahmen aber schwerlich dem damaligen Statthalter Petri, Papst Leo IV, vorzeigten.”



latter half of the fourth century an almost equal knowledge and use of Greek and Latin, he does it for a purpose of his own, to show that the Catholic traditions about Saint Patrick and his influence on Irish civilization are untenable (p. 7). He postulates a secure refuge in Ireland during the latter half of the fourth century for the antique-classical life, chiefly for the already Romanized and Christianized Kelts of Wales. With the social and political triumph of the barbarians from 400 on, these elements of Roman civilization would find themselves isolated in Ireland. It is thence, and not from the foundations of the "almost unlettered" Patrick (p. 3) that the "Old-Irish classical scholarship," of a Columbanus, for example, is derived. One thing is certain, this daring and interesting hypothesis is not borne out by the documents and monuments of Irish history. It seems incredible that anything like the Britain of Agricola could have existed in Ireland previous to the time of Saint Patrick, and left no trace in architecture, government, institutions. The tenacious nature of Roman colonization, even on a small scale, and the total absence of municipal life or customs in pre-Patrician Ireland, are good proofs of the non-existence, on any considerable scale, of centres of refinement capable of keeping alive the Greek tongue and ecclesiastical conditions of the fourth century. Zimmer himself (p. 20) puts on record the continental attitude of contempt for the Irish (circa 400) in the language and mental temper of no less a man than Saint Jerome.<sup>1</sup> If there existed any noteworthy "origins" of Christianity at that time in Ireland, Saint Jerome would scarcely have singled it out as a pagan nation par excellence. All that we can ever know with certainty about the pre-Patrician churches, the "Scoti in Christum credentes" to whom Palladius was sent, may be seen in the first pages of Haddan and Stubbs, and it does not bear out Dr. Zimmer. The rapid assimilation by the Irish of Roman literary culture is better explained by the ingenious French archæologist, M. Alex. Bertrand, in his "Religion des Gaulois," (Paris, 1897, pp. 417-424).

An "Index Rerum" would make this very learned book more serviceable. With his "Nennius Vendicatus" (Berlin, 1893) and his "Pelagius in Ireland" Dr. Zimmer has rendered a genuine service to Irish Church history and Christian literature.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

<sup>1</sup> Audiant Ethnici messes Ecclesiæ, de quibus horrea nostra complentur; audiant catechumeni, qui sunt fidei candidati, ne uxores ducant ante baptismum, ne honesta jungant matrimonia, sed Scottorum et Atticottorum ritum, ac de republica Platonis, promiscuas uxores, communes liberos habeant. Adv. Jovinianum, Bk. II.



**The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages.** By the Rev. Horace K. Mann, Head Master of St. Cuthbert's Grammar School, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Vol. I, The Popes under Lombard Rule; Part I, pp. 590-657; Part II, pp. 657-795. St. Louis: B. Herder; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1902. 8°, pp. xii + 432, 507. \$6.00.

Until very lately a reliable history of the papacy, written with candor and sympathy, learning and criticism, was wanting in English. The slanderous history of the popes written by the eighteenth century ex-Jesuit Bower long did service, and at a time when Catholics who spoke English were as few as they were insignificant. Not the least remarkable sign of the changed circumstances of Catholicism in English-speaking lands is the growing demand for works on the papacy that shall relate its vicissitudes with honesty and completeness. Bishop Creighton's "History of the Papacy," marks a great advance, in spirit and diction, on the older Protestant school of historians, and Pastor's learned volumes have brought pleasure and comfort to a multitude of Catholic readers. But these writers look towards the modern world, and therefore begin with the papacy of the fourteenth century; they are in reality concerned with the pre-history of the great events that led to the political, religious, and social transformations of the sixteenth century. Still more true is this of Von Ranke's philosophical and often sympathetic account of the later papacy. Though the splendid work of von Reumont is still unknown to us, Gregorovius is being translated into English. He is a "Cultur-historiker" before all, and we want yet an English translation of the complete work of Father Grisar, S.J., on the same subject, viz., the history of the City of Rome.

It is therefore with much relief that we turn to these two admirable volumes of an English Catholic priest. They deal with the papacy of the seventh and eighth centuries—or rather they offer a series of succinct and critically treated biographies of the popes of that period. It is the author's good fortune to live after the completion of Duchesne's edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*; we might call this book a successful popularization of that work's assured text and the erudite introductions and notes that ornament it—fruit of a multitude of profound antiquarian studies in all the dim and shadowy provinces of early papal history. Our writer seems well equipped for his work. As he clearly avoids a general history of the papacy—the book is entitled "Lives" of the popes—it would be unjust to complain of the absence of a large and philosophic treatment of the general papal activity of the period. To ensure that, the work would

need to be cast into other *cadres*. But the individual lives are well done, though a finical seeker for completeness might often sigh at omissions and preteritions. The principal authorities are indicated at the beginning of each chapter, a little summarily perhaps, and with presupposition of a historical "Bildung" that is rarer, unhappily, than it ought to be, among Catholics of English tongue. Profuse citations from these authorities grace every page. Often their rude blunt Latinity acts like old woodcuts or musical refrains, and brings the scene before us with very great vividness. It is possible that these pages are overloaded with authorities, given the tendency of the narration itself to directness and compactness. Much of the space devoted to "authorities" might well be filled with the modern "literature" of the questions treated, especially as for English readers this is a "pioneer" book. Yet it is well that this first attempt to write in English the lives of the popes of this period should sin rather on the side of learning and modern "apparatus" than on the side of disregard for the critical sense of the average reader. Perhaps, too, it is unkind and ungracious to find fault with a calm and judicious writer who breaks for the first time into a remote field of labor, and whose work is destined to be read by many, and for a long time, with profit. We could have wished to see more use made of the new school of Byzantine savants—the works of Diehl, Krumbacher, the materials of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* and the "Mélanges" of the French School of History and Archaeology at Rome. Thus (p. 379) for an account of Theophanes the reader should be referred to the second edition of Krumbacher's most useful "History of Byzantine Literature." So, too, a frequent use of Charles Diehl's "Administration Byzantine à Ravenne" and of Cardinal Hergenroether's magisterial work on Photius, would throw much light on the troubled relations between Constantinople and Rome. Perhaps too implicit confidence is placed on the pontifical items found in the lives of the Merovingian saints; most of these lives are of a quite late date, or "worked over" or otherwise unreliable, except after special study of each one. Really, a general introduction is very badly needed for this work, one in which the conditions of the Imperium and the Ecclesia, hereditary and circumstantial, shall be outlined; likewise the social and religious conditions; the great new political factors set in their proper light and sketched in their real activities—Islam, the Frankish monarchy, the Old-Roman remnant, the Greeks of Italy and Sicily, the new economic-social life that the closing of the Orient by Islam was imposing on Europe, the unforeseen decay and collapse of all the old learning, refinement and order that were like the matrix of papal

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activity before the Lombard's fatal advent; the peculiarly fateful ravages of the Belisarian campaigns against the Ostrogoths—wars in every way ruinous to the Roman Church.

The "sources" of papal history in this period are indeed constantly used and faithfully quoted. But the narration would gain very much for an introductory account, both general and special, of all papal historical materials in this time. One ought not to first meet apropos of Boniface III (I, 259), a description of the *Liber Pontificalis*. These materials are so miscellaneous, unrelated, fragmentary; so widely scattered through the annalistic remnants of ten centuries; so different from all that precedes Gregory I, and that follows Gregory VII, that a description of them is imperative, if the reader would have all the light possible on a period that will never suffer from luminousness of detail and sharpness of outline. Indeed, it was from the "world," the "milieu," of these monastic writers that most of the popes came—to a Benedict of Soracte corresponds a John XII, as the *Registrum* of Gregory I betrays the last survivors of that vigorous army of Roman administrators who made the world in very truth the farm or villa of their city.

Both these volumes are disfigured by many misprints of the Latin "sources" and of proper names *e. g.*, *Theoderic* (I, 404), *D'Acheri* (383), *republicæ* (390), *subiquisset* (388), *Héfélé* for Hefe (399, 142), *della Salvatore* (II, 170). Dom. Constant and Dom. Mabillon (I, 403) should read Dom Constant and Dom Mabillon. The reference (I, 425) to p. 136, should read to p. 379. For "Chancellaries" ought we not read "Chancelleries"? Here and there (*e. g.*, I, 392) the composition has been neglected. Migne is cited (II, frontispiece) as editor of a "Patrologie Grecque" and a "Patrologie Latine." As is well known, the works have Latin titles. There are other indications that show our author as a disciple of French rather than German historical training—indeed, the abundant German scholarship for this period is rather completely neglected. It is true, these are trifles, but they ought not to be detected in the work of a good historical scholar. There is wanting in each volume an alphabetical bibliography of the "literature" of the subject. Excellent specimens of such exist in the classical works of Janssens and Pastor. Nor are they mere ostentations of learning. The monographs on this period, both books and articles, are very numerous and valuable. They deal with many points necessarily slighted in a general conspectus. And as they are in several languages and scattered in many learned repositories, it would seem that on such an occasion it is the duty of the historian to bring this slowly-growing mass of scholarship to the attention of his

readers, especially the more scholarly class of the same. We are pleased to note that the author defends the authenticity of the two famous letters of Gregory II to Leo III. Though Duchesne, and after him Batiffol, have doubted their authenticity, it can scarcely be rejected, even by reason of the coarse and rude language they contain. Patience and courtesy had ceased to be virtues in dealing with New Rome, and in the first half of the eighth century the popular Italian feeling against that city was too deep and genuine to take offence at some unacademic phrases that are now a matter of scandal to historians, who forget that the correspondence of Nicholas I and Leo IX reveals a similar temper and equally bold phraseology. The commingled pride and weakness of the Byzantine authorities were ever a stumbling block to the early mediæval papacy that long stood for the progress of the west under Italian hegemony. The pompous pretensions of Constantinople were equalled only by its incredible feebleness and its Bourbon-like stupidity. It dealt too often with the phantoms of an Old-Roman imperial renaissance while the popes usually saw with clear vision the hard realities of European politics.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Les Sources de L'Histoire de France** depuis les Origines jusqu'en 1789. Par MM. A. Molinier, H. Hauser, A. Lefranc, M. Tourneux. Première partie. II. Des origines aux guerres d'Italie. Par Auguste Molinier, Professeur à l'Ecole Nationale des Chartes. Paris: Picard, 1902. 8vo., pp. 322. 5 francs.

The first part of the first volume of this admirable guide to the original sources of the history of France has already been described in our pages (July, 1902, p. 348). The second part of the same volume brings the scientific cataloguing of these sources from the middle of the tenth to the end of the twelfth century (951-1182). The historical student will find in 1,259 succinct paragraphs an account of all the authorities known or accessible for that stirring period, when France put off her swaddling clothes and stood forth as the most vigorous and puissant of the mediæval peoples. Genealogies, letters, poems, chronicles, annals, chancery forms; domestic records of abbeys, cathedrals, duchies, counties, cities; incipient historical works, lives of saints, founders, bishops and abbots, narratives of the first crusades and the first attempts at universal history—such are the principal rubrics under which one must look for the heterogeneous materials of French history from Hugues Capet to Philippe Auguste. With this directory in hand the enormous tomes of Bouquet, Duchesne, Martène, d'Achery and Baluze, the vast materials of Lobineau, Morice and

Vaissete, the countless chartularies, the great collections of Migne and the Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, take on a new interest for the modern student in as far as they contain the real history of mediæval France. By reason largely of a common religion with its widely ramifying personal influences, the history of France in this period is inseparable from the general history of Europe—papacy, empire, kingdoms and great fiefs. Hence, this work at intervals overlaps or makes "double emploi" with other historical guides like Wattenbach and Gardiner-Mullinger. Its general disposition is excellent, notably the classification of the miscellaneous local "sources" under geographical and topographical headings—North, South, Centre, East, West, Terre d'Empire. The chapters on the first and second Crusades with the fresh and accurate information on the Oriental authorities, are especially valuable. Each chapter or general division is prefaced by a brief introduction into which are worked the latest and safest general conclusions of modern criticism on that particular class of historical materials. Then all authors of note receive a similar special treatment, *e. g.*, Radulphus Glaber, Adhémar de Chabannes, Guillaume de Tyr. There is a sober and sufficient citation of original authorities and modern literature, especially of the historical periodicals of France and Germany. The style is clear and self-contained, marked everywhere with the desire to give the essentials and to relieve the memory of all that is "Nebensache." Not only this excellent manual, but all the volumes of the series, published by MM. Picard et Fils (82 Rue Bonaparte, Paris) ought to be in every college and private library that lays stress on the possession of the original materials of mediæval history. They are at once scholarly and popular, well arranged and cheap; to have studied them faithfully is the first and most useful step to the knowledge and respect of the religious and social legacy of the Middle Ages to the modern world.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur.** Von Otto Bardenhewer, Doktor der Theologie und Professor der Theologie an der Universität München. Vol. I, Vom Ausgange des apostolischen Zeitalters bis zum Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts. Herder: Freiburg (Baden), 1902. 8°, pp. xii + 592.

Church historians have been awaiting with impatience the History of Ancient Christian Literature promised by the patrologist, Dr. Bardenhewer, of Munich. His "Manual of Patrology," and his numerous contributions to the learned reviews of Germany that deal with the expression of the early Christian life and thought, are ample



documentation of his capacity, and even his special calling, for the monumental task.

The first volume is now before us. The whole work will comprise six volumes, and its character may be gathered from the fact that in nearly six hundred pages the author does not cover more than one hundred years of Christian literary life and production (circa A. D. 100-200).

The subject matter is divided into three parts—the very earliest (urkirchliche) ecclesiastical literature, the ecclesiastical (kirchliche) literature from A. D. 120-200 including apology, polemics, and antihetical writings, the domestic (innerkirchliche) literature. In forty-three chapters the reader will find exhaustively enumerated, compactly described, and scientifically illustrated, every early Christian text of importance. Thus, pp. 68-76 a sufficient account of the Apostles' Creed, and the pertinent controversies of the last decade; pp. 119-146, an excellent compte rendu of the Epistles of Saint Ignatius and the voluminous "literature" of the last fifty years that these archaic documents have created; pp. 365-481, the only complete and clear account from a modern Catholic pen of the extensive and influential literature of the "Apocrypha"—gospels, "acts," epistles, apocalypses. Even those whose lives are devoted to the study of such material may read these pages with profit and pleasure. It is not often that they meet with a Catholic guide capable of moving surely and successfully through this literary jungle. No romance of literature compares with the picture here unfolded of the trials, dangers and triumphs of Catholicism at its very outset in human life. Here is, indeed, "selection," "survival of the fittest" "control of environment." And as one rises from the perusal of this entrancing story of the "Apocrypha," as one sees with each decade of the second century the unfolding of the conscious activity of the "Ecclesia" as teaching authority and formative discipline, as one sees the figure of the Roman Church always in an attitude of supremacy, mastery, direction, always symbolic of apostolicity and unity, there settles upon the soul a feeling of conviction that some secret but self-conscious and purposeful power dominated the incredible turmoil of second century Gnosticism. East and west the Holy Spirit watched and brought successfully out of the most wonderful literary "mêlée" that the world ever saw, the genuine documents of the new life of love and hope and faith; endowed them, as Dr. Archibald Robinson well says, with that "indefinable but to us Christians surely very perceptible difference of spiritual savour which so often distinguishes books outside the Canon from those included in it" ("Regnum Dei, Bampton Lectures," 1902,

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p. 40). All this time the Holy Spirit was emphasizing more and more the "magisterium" of the "Ecclesia" as the true tribunal before which all writings, as all oral teaching, must eventually come for judgment. Great indeed, are the labors of Harnack, von Gebhardt, Hilgenfeld, Zahn, and a host of other toilsome and keen German intellects. Nor can there be now any return to the uncritical and contemptuous mental attitude of former generations *in re* the fragments of primitive Christian life. But analysis cries for synthesis as the void for repletion—and this work of Dr. Bardenhewer is a first, and perhaps for long, a sole sufficient reply. In erudition it is almost minute and finical, but it is an erudition that does not overwhelm one. There is not only order in the disposition of the material old and new, but sobriety in narration, good sense in the choice of controverted and dubious points, moderation in the expression of dissent and refutation. It is the voice of a genuine master that echoes from this book, to which no substantial pedagogical quality is wanting. No ecclesiastical library can afford to be without the entire work—it is really a complete and reliable dictionary of early Christian literature. Once, it was from France and Italy that we awaited such works. But the days of the Maurines, the Muratoris and Mansis, the Maffeis and Zaccarias, seem departed. The new revival of ecclesiastical learning has its seat in Catholic Germany. It is equally significant that its principal organs are the German Catholic faculties of theology, located in great universities, living a calm and hereditary academic life, profiting by the companionship of learned specialists, utilizing ancient libraries never dispersed and (usually) up to date, in daily healthful touch with all that is forceful, progressive, luminous, common—useful, in the real world about them.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Hergenroether's Handbuch der Allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte,**

Vierte Auflage, neu bearbeitet. Von Dr. J. P. Kirsch, Professor an der Universitaet Freiburg (Schweiz). Vol. I, Die Kirche in der antiken Barbarenwelt. Herder: Freiburg (Baden), 1902. 8°, pp. xiii + 722.

A new and improved edition of the 'Manual of Church History' by Cardinal Hergenroether is an event of some magnitude in the domain of historical literature. Dr. Kirsch is particularly well qualified to undertake this first volume, as he is by training and profession a Christian archæologist of excellent experience at first hand. Several minor contributions to the antiquities of ecclesiastical history have made his name known and respected; the practice of teaching has fitted him to re-furbish such an excellent instrument of ecclesiastical

formation as this work. The text does not seem to be anywhere seriously modified—the improvement, and it is a welcome one, consists chiefly in the quotation of the best pertinent modern “literature” that has appeared since the last edition of the work. There is also added a good map of the geographical spread of Christianity in the earliest centuries. Cardinal Hergenroether’s *Church History* is really more than a manual, in the usual sense of the word. In the excellent French translation it fills six thick octavo volumes. Whoever examines carefully this volume, with its enormous detail of text-illustration and bibliography, will be confirmed in the notion that the Church histories of the future are not to be written by one hand, but by a kind of Benedictine division and community of labor, a good specimen of which lies now before us in Lavissee and Rambaud’s “*Histoire Générale*,” and in Lavissee’s “*Histoire de France*” actually going through the press. The horizons are growing deeper; provinces of learning, once shrouded in a haze, are now outlined and defined; the topography of once unknown sections is now familiar, and the time perhaps ripe for a world-wide society of toilers willing and able to set in its proper light the admirable organization of mankind for life eternal through the agencies of Catholicism.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass**, dogmatically, liturgically, and ascetically explained. By Rev. Dr. Nicholas Gühr. Translated from the sixth German edition. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1902. Large 8°, pp. 778. \$4.00.

The admirable work of Dr. Gühr has been before the German Catholic public for twenty-five years as a part of Herder’s “*Theologische Bibliothek*.” An English translation was long a desideratum—in this volume the English-speaking clergy now possess what is indubitably a most useful work on the great central doctrine of Catholic life and belief. We quote from the original (1877) preface of the book:

“Its object is, in the main, both practical and ascetical; to appeal not only to the understanding, but also to inflame the heart and move the will. The selection and the treatment of the matter have necessarily been directed to this object. As it is not our intention to present a purely scientific and exhaustive treatise on the eucharistic sacrifice, but to build, upon the foundation of scientific studies and inferences a work useful and practical for the clergy, certain questions of scientific and historic nature may receive scarcely more than a brief and passing mention. . . . In the explanation of the Rite we have strictly adhered to the words and actions of the liturgical formulæ, endeavoring at the same time, in accordance with approved ecclesiastical traditions, to avoid as far as possible all subjectivism and artificiality. . . . The priest who studies

this book will, moreover, find manifold reasoning and argument wherewith to direct the faithful according to their capacity in the proper understanding of the divine sacrifice and in their fervent recourse to the eucharistic fountain of grace. The authorities of the Church have often impressed upon pastors that this is a chief duty of directors of souls, for the conscientious discharge of which they shall have to render an account before God. Although this volume is principally intended for the use of the clergy it has been so arranged that the more highly cultured laity may also peruse it with profit."

The translation, as far as we have compared it with the original, is faithful and clear. The English is not only correct and idiomatic but natural and dignified, as becomes the subject-matter. Its author has a thorough mastery, as well of the rather involved diction of German theological scholarship, as of the brevity and directness of American speech. We hope that another edition of the work will make known his identity. The selected bibliography (pp. 7-12) might easily be enriched by a certain number of English works on the Mass. We notice at once that the names of Dalgairns, Bridgett, O'Brien, are wanting, and that the famous "Lectures on the Eucharist" of Cardinal Wiseman are not quoted. In such an exhaustive and "classical" book a complete bibliography of English works on the Eucharistic might well be made a special feature. We cheerfully recommend this excellent work to all our readers. It has stood the test of a quarter of a century amid a learned and pious clergy, and may therefore claim a place in the library of every Catholic, priest and layman, who understands the words of a French writer cited by Dr. Gihl (p. 224) viz., that our spiritual or metaphoric sacrifices and prayers, thanksgivings, alms, sacred chants, preachings, obedience, humility, martyrdom, good works, are only a dependence, an appendix, an extension, a consequence, an echo of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which combines all their varieties as well as the varieties of the material sacrifices.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Études D'Histoire et de Theologie Positive.** Par Mgr. Pierre Batiffol, Recteur de l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. 8vo, pp. viii + 311.

This little volume contains four articles on the following points of Early Church History: L'Arcane, Les Origines de la Pénitence, La Hiérarchie Primitive, L'Agape. Mgr. Batiffol is well and favorably known for excellent contributions to patrology and the literary history of Christianity. His work on the Roman Breviary and his History of Greek Christian Literature are widely used in learned circles. His studies are done at first hand, as becomes a disciple of Duchesne, in a liberal and fearless temper, and with a certain charm and piquancy

of style that relieve the native dryness and remoteness of the matter. The most important of these studies is the one on "Les Origines de la Pénitence," and we recommend its perusal to all our ecclesiastical leaders. The subject is a thorny one and the antiquarians of theology have always approached it with diffidence. Mgr. Batiffol summarizes luminously certain new considerations and points of view, submitted within the last decade by scholars both Protestant and Catholic. His own scholarship, profound, critical, and suggestively helpful, is here clearly in evidence. His views and solutions are worthy of the closest attention.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

**Report of the Industrial Commission.** 1901. Washington: Government Printing Office. 19 vols. 1899-1902.

An act of Congress approved in June, 1898, created an Industrial Commission, whose duty it was "to investigate questions pertaining to immigration, to labor, to agriculture, to manufacturing, to business, and to report to Congress, and to suggest such legislation as it may deem best on the subjects." It was further ordered that the Commission "furnish such information and suggest such laws as may be made a basis for uniform legislation by the various states of the Union, in order to harmonize conflicting interests and to be equitable to the laborer, the employer, the producer, and the consumer." The Commission was composed of 19 members—five United States Senators, five members of the House of Representatives, and nine others selected to represent fairly the different industries and employments. The last named were appointed by the President. It was originally contemplated that the Commission would terminate its work in two years, but as its work was not completed within that period, the time was extended. With the completion of its report, which has just been made, it ceases to exist.

The report fills 19 volumes varying in size from 1,500 pages to 150. The following are the titles of the volumes.

1. Preliminary report on trusts. 2. Trusts and corporation laws in the United States. 3. Prison labor. 4. Transportation. 5. Labor legislation. 6. Distribution of farm products. 7. Capital and labor in manufacturing business. 8. Chicago labor disturbances. 9. Second volume on transportation. 10. Agricultural labor. 11. Second volume on agricultural labor. 12. Mining industries. 13. Second volume on trusts and combinations. 14. Second volume on capital and labor in manufacturing. 15. Immigration and education. 16. Foreign labor legislation. 17. Labor organizations, labor disputes and arbitration. 18. Industrial combinations in Europe. 19. Final report.

Before beginning its work, the Commission prepared a schedule of the subjects to be investigated. They cited witnesses to appear before them in Washington, and subcommissions went to various industrial centers to make investigations. The larger volumes are well indexed, the evidence is reviewed, and topical digests of the evidence are given. The testimony given is produced verbatim, after having been revised by the witnesses themselves.

It is scarcely necessary to attempt any review of this immense report, nor is it necessary to criticise or commend it. No one doubts that much useless matter is contained in it, but, on the other hand, one can scarcely deny that it has an immense educational value. We confine ourselves to the notice of its publication, taking occasion to recommend it to all students of social conditions. Until the edition is exhausted, the report may be procured gratis by applying to any congressman.

L. L. DUBOIS.

**Electrical and Magnetic Calculations.** By A. A. Atkinson. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1902. 8°, pp. vii + 310. Illustrated. Cloth, \$1.50.

Another useful book has been added to the list of works on electrical science published by the D. Van Nostrand Company. There has been need of such a book as Professor Atkinson has produced. The treatment of the matter is such that not only will teachers and students in colleges find it a valuable aid in their work, but also those engaged in electrical engineering practice will find it at once a handy reference for the application of rules and formulæ to practical engineering problems, and a means of acquiring a better working knowledge of the principles underlying their profession, if they have not had the advantage of a full college course in the subject.

After giving a brief explanation of units in general, the author takes up the treatment of the relations of electrical qualities, the general laws of resistance, electrical energy and alternating currents, including under each of these headings interesting problems of a practical character. A long chapter is then devoted to the most modern problems in wiring for the distribution of direct currents and alternating currents of single, two and three phase, for lighting and power. Problems in the grouping of batteries and the charging of storage cells receive considerable attention. The important facts concerning magnetism are stated briefly, and the relations of magnetic quantities are illustrated by well-chosen examples. The last chapters of the book deal with the electro-motive force of dynamos and motors, the calculations of fields and the elements of dynamo design, illus-

trative examples being used, as in the preceding chapters, to give the reader a clear knowledge of the principles, and to enable him to apply his knowledge readily in engineering practice. The diagrams are neatly drawn and the tables well arranged. The book has been brought out with careful attention to details of the art of printing.

DANIEL W. SHEA.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**A College Manual of Rhetoric.** By Charles Sears Baldwin, Assistant Professor of Rhetoric in Yale University. New York: Longmans, 1902. 8°, pp. xv + 451.

Dr. Baldwin divides his manual into two parts: Prose Composition and Prose Diction. Notes, examples, references, specimens, are relegated to a lengthy appendix, thereby gaining the fullest attention for the "sequence of principles" and a larger space for the practical illustrations that are indispensable in such a work. In the first part, under the rubric of Logical Composition, are treated the elements of the same, together with Exposition and Persuasion; then follow the elements of Literary Composition, and especially Narration and Description. In the second part Usage and Style are the headings under which the academic doctrines of Prose Diction are expounded—the latter subject falling under such divisions as originality elegance, directness or force, balance of elegance and force in classic prose, and harmony. Among the "Longer Selections" we meet (pp. 383-402) with the famous description of "Literature" by Cardinal Newman, and the exquisite "Symmetry and Incident" of Alice Meynell. Pater, Kipling, Stevenson, Stephen Phillips, Gifford Pinchot, Thomas Hardy, Lafcadio Hearn, Thomas Janvier, are admitted into the "Grand Council" of literary masters, not without good reason, when we weigh the especial excellencies of the quotations from them. In the paragraphs on "Forensic Oratory" the excellent handbook of our own Professor Robinson is accepted as a most reliable guide.

**Compendium Theologiae Moralis a Joanne Petro Gury, S.J.,** Conscriptum et ab Antonio Ballerini ejurdem societatis adnotationibus auctum, deinde vero ad breviorum formam exaratum, atque ad usum seminariorum hujus regionis accomodatum ab Aloysio Sabetti S.J. in Collegio Woodstockiensi Theologiae Moralis Professore, Editio decima sexta recognita a Timotheo Barrett, S.J. New York: Pustet, 1902. 8°, pp. 904.

This sixteenth edition of Gury-Ballerini-Sabetti is now too well known in our seminaries and among our clergy to need any further



praise. Its utility is universal acknowledged, and this reprint deserves all the good words that have been said of its predecessors.

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**BOOKS RECEIVED.**

Statistics Concerning Education in the Philippine Islands, compiled from the Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1899-1900.

By Rev. Samuel Hedges, Seton Hall College. New York: Benziger, 1902. 12°, pp. 30. 10 cents.

The Ideal Teacher, or the Catholic Notion of Authority in Education.

By Père L. Laberthonnière. Pedagogical Truth Library, No. 7. New York: Cathedral Library Association. 1902. 12°, pp. 81.

The Death of Sir Launcelot and other poems. By Conde B. Pallen, Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1902. 8°, pp. 124.

A New Catechism of Christian Doctrine and Practice. By the Rt. Rev. James Bellord, D.D., The Ave Maria, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1902. 12°, pp. 115. 10 cents.

Forty-five Sermons, written to meet objections of the present day by Rev. James McKernan. New York: Pustet. 8°, pp. 291. 1.00.

The Little Manual of St. Anthony of Padua. Compiled by Rev. F. X. Lasance. New York: Benziger, 1902. 32°, pp. 188. 25 cents.

## FROM THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUMS.

### FOUNDATION-STONE OF SARGON II.

(722-705, B.C.)

This is a fragment<sup>1</sup> ( $7\frac{1}{2} \times 8$  in.) inscribed on both sides and contains an interesting cuneiform text. The shape of the stone and its contents show that it was originally part of a *temênu* or foundation-stone and belonged to a temple or some other monument erected by an Assyrian King of the Sargonide dynasty.<sup>2</sup> The *obverse* (Fig. 1) consisting of 19 lines exhibits in mutilated form, besides the usual prologue, a general summary of the military exploits of the reigning monarch, while the *reverse*, 9 lines (Fig. 2), contains the epilogue and records the date of erection.

The lines are broken off at both extremities, and the text is otherwise defaced, but as several of the clauses belong to the conventional, stereotyped class, they can be easily reconstructed by comparison with other historical inscriptions of the same period. This has been done very successfully by the eminent Assyriologist Father Scheil (*Revue Biblique*, Juillet, 1900), who compares the fragment particularly with the Senacherib inscription known as the Taylor Cylinder.

The fragment is especially interesting on account of the mention made in the epilogue of an Assyrian *bêl pahâti* or prefect of Samaria, the capital of the Northern Israelitish Kingdom. The text reads as follows, the reconstructed parts being enclosed within brackets.

.....ilu Šamaš ilu Rammân.....  
 ....ma eli kul-lat na-[kire].....  
 ....Šar] mat Aššur ki Šar kib-rat irbit-tim Šarru.....  
 ....a-] lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-[a-ti].....  
 ....la-]'it la ma-gi-ri mu-šap-ri-q[u zamânê, Aššur

<sup>1</sup> Of uncertain origin; bought in Paris from an Oriental; now in possession of Professor H. Hyvernât, of the Catholic University of America.

<sup>2</sup> Father Scheil is of the opinion that the tablet came originally from Nineveh, but it may also have belonged to a monument of Calah (the modern Nimrud) since the latter continued to be the royal city for two centuries after the restoration of the Assyrian Empire beginning with Aššurnazirapal (884-860 B.C.).

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FIG. 1.

A FOUNDATION STONE OF SARGON

722-705 B. C.

OVERSE.



FIG. 2.

A FOUNDATION STONE OF SARGON II.  
722-705 B. C.

REVERSE.





...eli gi-]mir a-šib pa-rak-ki u-sar-ba-a...<sup>[is Kakkēya</sup>  
[ultu tamti eliniti adi tamtim  
...šap-li-ti ša ci-it ilu Šamši.....  
...i-na ir-bit gir-râ-ni-ya ša.....  
...li [al-] âni-šu-nu ak-šu-[ud.....  
...i-] na še-lal-ti gir-ra-ni-ya ša a[na-(?)....  
...gir-ri-ia a-[na] KÂ-DINGIR-RA-KI a-[.....  
...gi-lit-tu...ki gug-tu u (?) - ša [lik (?).....  
...ilu Zar-pa-ni-[tum] a-na mu-uh<sub>3</sub> (?) di-e u.....  
...Cun na-gi ti-ni a-na KÂ-DINGIR-RA-[KI].....  
...Šar mat Nim-ma-ki [la ha]-sis a-ma-ti.....  
...a-na na-gi-e ur-du-ma..... na.....  
...Cun ni-še (?) e-bir.....  
...ak-mu-u ša.....  
...a]l Ra-ca.....

REVERSE.

...mu-ša-ru-u u-še-piš-ma.....  
...ka-na ki (?) ri-e a aš(?)-tak-ka-an (?).....  
...Šarrâni marê-ya ša<sup>lu</sup> Aššur.....  
...ḥa-šu e-nu-ma dûru ša-a-tu i-[labiru.....  
...ši[tir] šu-me-ya li-mur-ma.....  
...a]-na aš-ri-[šu lu]-tir<sup>ilu</sup> Aššur.....  
...[ina lime N....] bêl pihat<sup>al</sup> Sa-me-ri-na Šattu XIV....  
...[N.... šar<sup>mat</sup> Aššur].....  
.....

TRANSLATION (Cf. *Revue Biblique*, Juillet 1900).

...The gods Šamaš, Ramman.....  
 ...over all enemies.....[I N.....  
 ...king of Assyria, king of the Four Regions.....  
 ...helper of the weak, intent upon good works....  
 ...destroyer of the rebellious, burner of [enemies; whom the  
     God Aššur  
 ...has made victorious over all who dwell in palaces..from the  
     upper sea  
 ...to the lower sea towards the rising sun.....  
 ...in four campaigns against.....  
 ...I took their cities.....  
 ...in three expeditions against.....  
 ...I followed the route to Babylon....

....I reduced to desolation.....  
 ....the goddess Zarpanit from her sanctuary (?)....  
 ....districts.....towards Babylon.....  
 ....the king of Elam who did not take to heart the command  
     [of the gods....  
 ....towards his regions I went down.....  
 ....men (?)..... I crossed.....  
 ..... I surrounded.....  
 ....the city of Rasa.....

## REVERSE.

....an inscription I caused to be made.....  
 ..... I placed.....  
 ....among] the kings my descendants whom the god Aššur [will  
     call to reign....  
 ....when this enclosure shall have fallen to decay.....  
 ....should one see this my inscription.....  
 ....let him put it back in its place, and Aššur [will reward him  
 ....In the eponymy of N—] governor of Samaria, in 14th  
     year of.....  
 ....[N— king of Assyria.]

According to the acute observations of Father Scheil the unnamed king, author of the inscription is no other than Sargon (722-705 B.C.), who completed the conquest of the Northern Kingdom begun by Shalmaneser. We gather from the fragment a kind of *resumé* of the king's war-like expeditions. In four campaigns he overcomes certain foes whose names are not preserved in the text. Three other campaigns are devoted to the overthrow of the combined forces of Babylon and Elam, and all this before the fourteenth year of his reign, which date, according to the epilogue, coincides with the *limu* or eponymy<sup>1</sup> of a certain governor of Samaria whose name is also absent through mutilation of the text. This coincidence obviously precludes a date anterior to Sargon, but several considerations lead us to refer the inscription to the reign of that monarch rather than to any of the succeeding ones. In point of fact, none of the other inscriptions of Sargon refer to events

<sup>1</sup> Through a most important discovery by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who in 1862 unearthed several fragments of the Eponym Canon, scholars have been enabled to accurately determine Assyrian chronology from 1330 to 620 B.C. *circa*. It is now known that just as in Rome each year was designated by reference to the ruling consul, and in Athens by the name of the Chief Archon, so among the

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later than the fourteenth year of his reign, a circumstance which agrees well with the text in question. It is as if the king's military exploits were then over, his enemies subdued, and he has concentrated his intention upon the arts of peace, as suggested in the epilogue, while in connection with the monuments erected, he naturally commemorates the chief events of his reign. Furthermore, the manner of thus resuming these events in a general way without attention to their chronological order is recognized as a feature peculiar to the Sargonic inscriptions. It is true that certain stylistic peculiarities of the text recall inscriptions of Senacherib, but that it does not refer to the latter is shown by the epilogue, since the eponym of the fourteenth year of Senacherib's reign (692) is known to be *Zaga*, governor of Arvad, not of Samaria. Neither can the fragment be referred to Esarhaddon (681-668) who died in the fourteenth year of his reign, and who besides, was never engaged in war with Babylon. The threefold campaign against this city seems likewise to exclude reference to the reign of Assurbanipal (668-625) though this prince did engage in a protracted struggle against Elam.

On the other hand the contents of the inscription can be easily harmonized with what is otherwise known concerning the reign of Sargon. Thus the campaigns first mentioned refer probably to his expeditions against the nations of the north which are known to have been subdued only after a struggle of four years. "The same king was three times in conflict with Babylon, once at the beginning of his reign in which campaign the battle of Dur-ilu was fought; again in the eleventh year, when he vanquished the allies of Marduk-bal-iddin; and finally in the twelfth, when he conquered Marduk-bal-iddin himself."

The eponym of the fourteenth year of the reign (709) is known as *Mannu Kî Aššur li'u*. No title is assigned to him in the inscriptions thus far brought to light, but if Father Scheil's calculations be correct he must have been governor of Samaria.

JAMES F. DRISCOLL.

Assyrians, at least as far back as 817 (in the reign of Shamshi-Ramman, 825-812) the custom prevailed of electing, to preside, as it were, over each year, an Archon or Eponym. These were generally public functionaries—sometimes the kings themselves—and Assyrian documents were more frequently dated by the name of the presiding eponym than by that of the reigning monarch. The Eponym Canon consists of a list giving in chronological order the names and titles of the successive Eponyms together with the year of their archontate and the principal events thereof.

## INSTITUTE OF PEDAGOGY, NEW YORK CITY. COURSE OF INSTRUCTION, 1902-1903.

The Institute of Pedagogy was opened Wednesday, October 1, 1902, in the Hall of St. Francis Xavier's College, 30 West 16th street, New York City. Lectures are given from Monday to Friday inclusive from 4 to 6 p. m. and on Saturday from 10 a. m. to 12 m.

### INSTRUCTORS.

REV. THOMAS J. SHAHAN, D.D., *History of Education*.  
EDWIN LYELL EARLE, PH.D., *Principles and Methods of Education*.  
REV. FRANCIS P. DUFFY, S.T.B., *Logic and Ethics*.  
REV. EDWARD A. PACE, PH.D., D.D., *Psychology*.  
CHARLES H. MCCARTHY, PH.D., *American History*.  
REV. JOSEPH H. MCMAHON, PH.D., *Library Work*.

### SCOPE.

The Institute has been established for the purpose of providing, under Catholic auspices, the preparation required of teachers by the rules of the Board of Education of New York.

These laws, framed in accordance with modern educational tendencies, oblige the teacher not only to produce evidence of scholarship in certain important branches, but also to become familiar with the history and principles of education. Pedagogy thus opens the way to historical, psychological and philosophical problems. The teacher, therefore, should understand the fundamental principles concerning the nature of mind upon which all intellectual and moral training is based. And it is but just that the share which the Church has had in the work of education should receive more attention than is accorded to it by the average manual of the history of education. There can be no doubt that accurate information on these matters will enable the teacher to perform more thoroughly and more conscientiously the duty which he owes to the public. It will also enable him to form correct estimates of the various theories which are nowadays proposed as the groundwork of pedagogical science.

### ADMISSION.

Applicants for admission to the Institute must:

1. Present a diploma from a recognized College or Normal School; or

2. Present a license to teach in the schools of the City of New York; or

3. Pass an entrance examination equivalent to the examination required of graduates from the Normal School.

The above requirements must be fulfilled by those who desire to pursue the courses with a view to taking a degree.

Persons who do not desire to take a degree will be permitted to follow the courses as auditors.

#### SESSIONS.

The academic year is divided into two half-years. The first half-year begins October 1 and ends January 31. The second half-year begins February 2 and ends May 30. Lectures are intermitted during the Christmas Recess, December 20 to January 4, and during the Easter Recess, April 4-15.

#### INSTRUCTION.

Instruction will be given by means of lectures and conferences.

#### EXAMINATIONS.

Examinations will be held at the end of January in the subjects which are taught during the first half-year, and at the end of May in the subjects which are taught during the second half-year.

Certificates will be granted to those who have attended any or all of the courses and have successfully passed the examinations.

#### DEGREES.

Attendance upon the courses outlined below, 1 to 8 inclusive, with successful examination, shall count towards the degree of Master of Pedagogy, for which the minimum requirements shall be two years work and the presentation of an acceptable thesis on some pedagogical topic. Credit will be given for work done in other institutions for which certificates from such institutions are presented.

#### FEEES.

Fees for instruction are as follows:

For each half-year course (30 lectures),.....	\$10.00
For two half-year courses,.....	15.00
Full year course,.....	15.00
Library course,.....	25.00

Special arrangements will be made for those who take three or more courses.

#### 1.—HISTORY OF EDUCATION.

The purpose of these lectures is to present an outline of the History of Education previous to the sixteenth century. The educational

ideals and systems of the Greek and Roman peoples, and of the Christianized Graeco-Romans, will be treated as an introduction to the vicissitudes of Education in the Middle Ages. An effort will be made to handle the subject-matter from a broad and common-human point of view, without sacrifice of specific Christian principle and temper. Thus, in the description of Mediæval Education, it will be the aim of the lecturer to make clear not only the school-life of the period—its purpose, spirit and methods—but also such universal and permanent influences and factors as then shaped and directed the general European mind. As far as possible, the original sources of information will be enumerated, and their guidance adhered to. Each lecture will be accompanied by a select bibliography, with short notes on the scope and utility of the works recommended. A suitable time for conference will also be allowed.

Dr. Shahan.

*Two hours a week, first half-year.*

#### 2.—PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF EDUCATION.

The course is designed to acquaint the student with the principles of education and with their application. It opens with a discussion of the foundations of method, which are historical, psychological, physiological, sociological and theological. This is followed by a study of the child, the subject matter and the aim of education. The principles thus established are then applied to the actual work of teaching, and the methods appropriate to each subject in the school curriculum are considered. Directions will also be given for the preparation of lesson plans and opportunities will be afforded for observation work.

Dr. Earle.

*Two hours a week.*

#### 3.—LOGIC.

This course will consist of thirty lectures on Formal Logic, which treats of the laws which govern clear thinking, careful investigation and exact reasoning. The theory of knowledge will be touched upon so far as may be necessary for the proper understanding of these laws.

Both the deductive and inductive methods will be treated, but special attention will be given to the latter.

Under Deductive Reasoning will be considered: Terms, their use and the fixing of their meaning by definition and division; the different kinds of propositions; the forms and rules of syllogistic arguments; and fallacies.

Under Inductive Reasoning: Mill's methods of Observation, Statistics, Analogies, Hypotheses.

The aim of the course is not merely to impart a theoretical knowledge of the subject, but to make it of practical value by giving a



training in clearness of thought and accuracy of expression. To this end various exercises will be suggested or assigned.

Particular attention will be paid to the relations between logic and the various branches of school instruction.

Rev. F. P. Duffy, S.T.B.

*Two hours a week, first half-year.*

#### 4.—PSYCHOLOGY.

An historical outline, showing the development of modern psychology, will lead to a discussion of the methods at present employed. The results obtained along the principal lines of experimental research will be indicated. Attention, apperception, memory and habit will be treated with reference to the work of teaching. An account will also be given of the more important problems and theories in genetic psychology. In connection with the lectures, opportunity will be given for the discussion of psychological literature.

Dr. Pace.

*Two hours a week, first half-year.*

#### 5.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF MIND.

On the basis of fact established by psychology, the solution of those problems is attempted which concern the essential nature of mind. The relation between mind and brain, the meaning of 'spirituality,' the limits of conscious life and the concept of immortality are the leading topics for discussion. The treatment of these from the point of view of Christian Philosophy will take into account the claims of materialism, monism, parallelism and evolutionism.

Dr. Pace.

*Two hours a week, second half-year.*

#### 6.—ETHICS.

The course includes an historical outline which is designed especially to show the influence of Greek Philosophy upon Christian Ethics. The relation of Ethics, as a normative science, to the positive sciences is discussed. Various types of ethical theory are critically reviewed. The fundamental concepts of right, duty, liberty, law and virtue are analysed. Stress is laid upon the ethical and social bearings of the teacher's work and practical suggestions are offered for the development of character.

Rev. F. P. Duffy, S.T.B.

*Two hours a week, second half-year.*

#### 7.—AMERICAN POLITICAL HISTORY.

The lectures in American political history will include an account of nautical activity during the XV. and XVI. centuries and the consequent enlargement of geographical knowledge. They will also consider the discoveries upon which were based the claims to portions of this continent by the leading maritime powers of Europe.

A summary of the Spanish, French and Dutch settlements will be followed by a more minute discussion of the English colonies in North America. This part of the course will notice the social, industrial and commercial life of the people between the years 1607 and 1776. By a method not usually adopted the main facts of the Revolution will be set forth.

In the succeeding period will be traced the rise of political parties, the territorial extension of the United States, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, the Louisiana Purchase, the restlessness of the States under Federal restraint and other important topics belonging to the period of Virginian ascendancy. The questions arising in the Jacksonian epoch will receive proper emphasis. The settlement, independence and annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico and its consequences extend over several administrations. The Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska struggle and the decision in the case of Dred Scott include the discussion of a wide range of topics. American socialisms, the anti-slavery movement, and the more important reforms will receive some attention.

The causes of the Civil War, its history and results, including the subject of Reconstruction will be carefully discussed. There will also be some consideration of the principal events since 1877.

Dr. McCarthy.

*Two hours a week, first half-year.*

#### 8.—AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

The course in Civil Government will comprise an account of the successive steps of the English colonies toward the organization of a confederacy, an examination of the Articles of Confederation and a summary of the political conditions which led to the formation of "a more perfect union." The work of the Convention of 1787 and the struggle to secure the new instrument of government will be discussed. The lectures in Civics, however, will be chiefly concerned with an exposition of the Federal Constitution and a study of the history and institutions of the State of New York.

Dr. McCarthy.

*Two hours a week, second half-year.*

#### DEPARTMENT OF LIBRARY WORK.

This department will endeavor to give the general and special training required for modern library work, keeping in mind the fact that the competent librarian must not only be educated in the technique of his profession but must possess a cultivated mind so as intelligently to grasp the needs of the people who wish to use the public or private library and accurately to accommodate his resources to those needs.

A liberal education is therefore a prerequisite for the higher library work. Students in this department, in order to obtain a certificate, will be required to take at least two of the other courses in the Institute.

Lectures on the general problems of library work will be given one hour each week. Lectures on Special Bibliography will also be given one hour weekly. The technical part of practical library work will require two hours each week.

Dr. McMahon.

*Schedule of Lectures, First Half-Year.*

	4—5	5—6
Monday.....	Psychology.	Principles of Education.
Tuesday.....	Psychology.	Logic.
Wednesday.....	Logic.	Library Work.
Thursday.....	Principles of Education.	American History.
Friday.....	History of Education.	American History.
	10—11	11—12
Saturday.....	History of Education.	Bibliography.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

**Catholic Ecclesiastical Law in the Nineteenth Century.** Dr. Fritz Fleiner, professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Basle, in his "Rektorsrede" of November 8, 1901, deals with the development of Catholic Ecclesiastical Law in the nineteenth century (Tuebingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1902, 8vo, pp. 31). His considerations are based on purely juristic principles and views. In substance he finds that modern Catholicism has gained internally by the principles of the French Revolution and modern constitutional liberalism. Both have driven the state out of all possible logical authority in matters of religion. This loss of civil support for the Church has been more than compensated by absolute internal freedom. As a matter of fact, from the domestic standpoint of Catholicism we are back again in the circle of mediæval ideas. Both then and now (p. 30) a "rein geistiges Moment," *i. e.*, a common and serious religious faith, is the basis from which the Catholic canonical legislation acts, with absolute independence of the state, upon individual souls. It is only by slow steps, and to their great surprise, that the statesmen of Europe have learned how the most significant and far-reaching act of modern times was Napoleon's urgent insistence that Pius VII should depose the entire French episcopate of the "ancien régime." Dr. Fleiner opines that "on that day, as a matter of fact (p. 7), the pope rose above all the bishops of the Catholic world and found himself again in the old mediæval office of Head of the Universal Church." Dr. Fleiner writes as a practical statesman of Bismarckian tendencies and principles, and regrets evidently the disappearance of that manifold control which the pre-Napoleonic system so often assured to the philosophic officials of Josephism and Febronianism.

**An Italian Bishop on Strikes.** That good pastor of souls, Bishop Bonomelli of Cremona, has issued an admirable pastoral to his clergy on the subject of strikes. This document appears in French in the "Annales de Philosophie Chretienne" (June, 1902).

In it one finds Catholic doctrine, sincere, timely, and urgent, on this grave issue of modern life. The pastoral breathes throughout a genuine love of peace and concord, and establishes with precision, fairness, and sympathy the rights and duties of employes and employed. Written for Italians and Catholics in an agricultural region, with all the weight of long experience and paternal affection, it brings out

that higher life of mutual love, forbearance and furtherance, which would surely be the outcome of practical Catholicism in principles and conduct.

**The Ideal Teacher.** We have received from the Cathedral Library Association (534-536 Amsterdam Ave., New York) number 7 of its "Pedagogical Truth Library." The pamphlet is a translation from the French Père Laberthonnière and is entitled "The Ideal Teacher: the Catholic Notion of Authority in Education." It deserves the widest circulation for its clear, sound, moderate doctrine, as well as for a certain calm and philosophical gift of style and exposition.

**The Irish Scots.** All who are interested in the "making of a nation" should read Mr. John C. Linehan's "The Irish Scots" and the "Scotch-Irish," an historical and ethnological monograph, with some reference to Scotia Major and Scotia Minor, to which is added a chapter on How the Irish came as Builders of the Nation (Concord, N. H., The American-Irish Historical Society, 1902, 8vo, pp. 138). Mr. Linehan's erudition ought surely to convince every disinterested reader that the so-called "Scotch-Irish" are very largely an historic misnomer. There is much valuable and rare information in these pages. They would, however, gain by a more careful proof-reading, thus (p. 9) Grester for Gretser, Isodorus for Isidorus. As the brochure to some extent, falls under the general rubric "genealogical," it ought to have, in following editions, an index of all family names anywhere cited. This would render its use more easy and frequent.

## UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

**Opening of the University.**—The classes for 1902-1903 were opened Wednesday, October 8. The solemn exercises of the opening took place on Sunday, October 12. Solemn high mass was sung at 9:30 o'clock. Rev. Joseph McSorley, C.S.P., president of St. Thomas' College, was the celebrant; Rev. James A. Gallagher, of Philadelphia, deacon; Rev. Stephen N. Moore, of Peoria, Ill., sub-deacon, and Rev. William P. Clarke, of Cincinnati, master of ceremonies. The Rt. Rev. Rector delivered a suitable discourse.

**Gift of Rt. Rev. Bishop Grace.**—The library has received from Right Rev. Bishop Grace, of Sacramento, a gift of 197 volumes of old Spanish sermons and ascetical works.

**New Appointments.**—Rev. Thomas E. Shields, Ph.D., of St. Paul, Minn., has been named instructor in physiological psychology; Rev. Francis Purtell, S.T.L., Catholic University, 1901, fellow in scripture, and Rev. A. J. Dowling, S.T.B., Catholic University, 1895, fellow in ecclesiastical history.

**Catholic Missionary Union.**—The Catholic Missionary Union has established its headquarters at Keane Hall, under the presidency of Very Rev. Walter Elliott, C.S.P. It has already begun work for the preparation of priests for the non-Catholic missions.

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